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THE SPEECHES
OF
SIR WILLIAM MARRIS
K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

As Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh
December 1922—January 1928

PRINTED FOR HON. CAPTAIN NAWAB SIR MUHAMMAD
AHMAD SA'ID KHAN, K.C.I.E.
BY THE WESLEYAN MISSION PRESS
MYSORE CITY, 1928

120 Copies Printed

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OPENING OF THE INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS AT LUCKNOW

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—You and I are, so to speak, legacies each to the other from Sir Harcourt Butler. It is a matter of great regret that his departure from the province has prevented him from fulfilling the engagement which he made some months ago to open your proceedings. You might have listened to one of those finished discourses of his, in which great wealth of ideas and vividness of phrase used to be happily employed in bringing questions of education into relation with the facts of life and the feelings and thoughts of the ordinary man. **January 8, 1923**

But for me it is unfortunate also that my first public utterance in this province should fall to be made on an occasion with which I am so unfitted to cope. I may confess at once that I am no scientist. Naturally, therefore, I feel daunted in standing up before so impressive a gathering as this, and saying anything to this audience on what is their subject and certainly is not mine. But I want to plead one slight extenuating circumstance. If I am not of the rose-garden, I once looked over the fence. Precisians have maintained that mathematics is not a science but only a language or a medium of science; but I see that your agenda takes a less rigid view. In that assurance, I just want to say that I have here in hand the records of a certain university college, some thousand miles away from this one, which show that over thirty years ago I had the honour of sharing a mathematical exhibition with one whose name will be received with reverence in this meeting—I mean Sir Ernest Rutherford, whose brilliant pioneer work in the field of radioactivity and the constitution of the atom, ever since the memorable meeting of the British Association at Leicester, in 1907, has won for him fame secure among the foremost scientists of all time.

I see it stated in the foreword to your handbook that Luck-

THE INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS AT LUCKNOW

now is almost destitute of scientific interest. But I must, in justice to my distinguished predecessor, recall the fact that it was his enthusiasm and energy which many years ago were responsible for introducing science into Lucknow in the form of the great medical college under whose roof we are assembled. Certainly, I would not have you imagine that in visiting these provinces you have strayed into a scientific wilderness. The Government of the United Provinces cannot admit any implication that, at all events of recent years, they have been backward in recognizing the value of science and research. Apart from the medical college work, of which Colonel Sprawson has told you, we have, at no great distance from us, in Cawnpore, a technological institute, founded in 1921, where work is being done on oil chemistry and special research scholarships are given to selected Bachelors of Science. Again, the departments over which my able colleague, Mr. Chintamani, presides, both in the college of agriculture and in the research section of the wood-working institute at Bareilly, have been doing valuable work in different fields; and at Allahabad, Lucknow and Agra, at all events, we have three of the finest laboratories in India. Never was so much attention paid to science, and never was the outlook so hopeful. I am assured that it is to those high schools where most attention is paid to scientific subjects that students are being more and more attracted. And I hope that even in these hard times of enforced economy we shall not lose faith in the immense economic value of scientific advances, which to some eyes may seem slow.

This is the tenth meeting of your congress, and over its nine predecessors, as over to-day's meeting, eminent men, both English and Indian, have presided. Their names alone make an impressive record of achievements in the domains of law, bacteriology, geology, education, meteorology, medicine, chemistry, industrial enterprise and engineering. Among other notable names which it is right to recall on this occasion are those of Sir J. C. Bose, F.R.S., whose investigations into plant life are so widely known, and in the world of mathematical research, Dr. Ganesh Prasad of the Hindu University, and that brilliant young student, Mr. S. Ramanujan, also a Fellow of the Royal Society,

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whose career was unfortunately cut short by death before he had attained the full maturity of his powers.

I will not detain you, gentlemen, with generalities about the vast contribution which directed scientific effort makes to the material welfare of the people. We gratefully acknowledge that in a country like India, where the struggle for physical existence is still hard, the man who can make two blades grow instead of one, or turn the desert spaces into cultivation, or found new industries, or use raw materials now unemployed, or find the means of averting the sufferings which malaria or plague, kala-azar or leprosy, bring upon the people, will have the justest claim to live in the gratitude of the people. For these reasons high importance attaches to your gatherings, which, like those of the British Association, will do so much to confirm and strengthen your individual labours. It must be a gratification to you to realize how the hopes, tentatively entertained when you made a modest beginning ten years ago, have come to fruition since.

But to end upon another point, which is also of close interest to the administration, we welcome gratefully and cordially the spirit of devoted and resolute effort which scientific inquiry demands. I personally welcome it, because I believe that the sane and assured political progress of the country cannot rest solely on enthusiasms and aspirations, or even on constructive effort, which in its eagerness for advance does not always base itself securely upon ascertained facts. Ordered observation and study and understanding of the social and political phenomena of the people, and of the relations between them, are surely as necessary to political health as similar efforts and similar understanding in the world of physical existence. It is the glory of science that it faces the facts. It denies its own code when it refuses to look at them, or still worse, when it colours them to support a theory or to enforce an argument. The whole political world, and not India alone, needs the scientific spirit. It wants to get rid of emotion and of prejudice; and to consider its weaknesses and difficulties with unflinching gaze, and by understanding them, to devise their cure. Not without cause the Greeks thought of their goddess of wisdom as 'piercing-eyed'. We, by reason of our human imperfections, see as in a glass darkly, but her

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untroubled certain vision pierced through to the eternal truths. Her figure typifies the genuine scientific spirit: and I say, all possible growth and power to it in India.

Gentlemen, as Governor of the United Provinces, I have now the pleasure to welcome you warmly to what I must not call its capital, but to what assuredly is no inconsiderable nor unattractive city; and to utter a wish, on behalf of Lucknow, that your stay here may be as pleasant as your proceedings are sure to be fruitful.

CIVIL SERVICE DINNER AT GOVERNMENT HOUSE, LUCKNOW

GENTLEMEN OF MY OWN SERVICE,—First I want to say what keen pleasure it gives me to see you here to-night, pleasure somewhat marred by the knowledge that I have to make a brief speech, and do not know if I shall get the pitch quite right. However, there is at least one person present, and that is Mr. Dundas, the latest joined recruit, who ought to be grateful to me, for if I were not doing it, he would be standing up in my place.

* * * * *

With the changes and chances of mortal life no Government can deal; but retirements owing to discontent with existing conditions are a very different business. I am trying to remember that this is a service dinner and that I have no business to attempt to talk as Governor. But inasmuch as I am come among you as a new man, a stranger to many of you, and this is an opportunity for intimate speech that will not readily recur, I should like to say a word or two that possibly may serve us both. First of all, I want to say one word of thanks about my reception in the province, which has been the greatest possible encouragement, though it has also made me realize the immense danger of disappointing expectation. I do desire earnestly to hold the service together in these provinces as closely and as long I can. I feel that if men lose heart in their position, or lose faith in the intentions of Government towards them, nothing can stop a disastrous exodus. You have a very effective reply to any arguments that I can use in favour of sticking on. You may tell me that it is all very well to talk about the call of duty, and the immense importance of the interests which we have hitherto served and which will be imperilled by any breakdown of the service. You may reply that if Government wish to avert such consequences they must make life bearable to those whom they desire to retain. I admit the force of the argument; but

CIVIL SERVICE DINNER AT LUCKNOW

inasmuch as most of the conditions of service are in the hands of higher authorities, all I can say is that we have just had reason for believing that they are awakening to the position; and that no efforts of mine will be spared to persuade them to deal with it.

But there remain some matters which do depend more upon this Government. I am very anxious that the relations of trust between the United Provinces Government and their officers, which are essential to good administration, should be preserved. For my part, I undertake to see that your difficulties are understood and received with generous consideration. You know, of course, that many matters will come before Members of the Government who are likely to take different views from yours. You know also that my duty requires me to give Ministers a large measure of liberty and to intervene only where serious consequences are involved. If men do blunder, you cannot expect me to shelter them from the criticism or censure which will be forthcoming for no better reason than that the prestige of the European officer is involved. But if there is a better reason, I will do my utmost to see that it is regarded. And now I ask you, gentlemen, to remember my difficulties. Mr. O'Donnell and I are both new to present conditions in the province; we have an immense deal to learn about it and we are both trying hard. We certainly desire to show no favour or disfavour to any class or community or person; we hope to steer our course as far as possible by the old compass; by what is the fairest and most just thing to do; but we are obviously fallible, and we have to work an extraordinarily difficult and complicated machine. I want to make no promises which I may fail to fulfil; but I should like to say that, consistently with the duty which I have undertaken to attempt to discharge as Governor of this province under the present conditions, I will do my best to deserve the confidence of the service to which I have the honour to belong, and, if I can succeed in deserving it, I am sure you will give it me. I believe that we are, all of us, in for a fairly difficult time; but if we understand each other and trust each other, I hope we shall pull through.

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UNITED PROVINCES LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, LUCKNOW

MR. PRESIDENT AND HONOURABLE MEMBERS OF THE UNITED PROVINCES LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL,—It gives me great pleasure to come here on the first occasion of your being in session since I assumed office and, so to speak, **January 29, 1923** make myself known to you collectively. The legislature here assembled is a very different body from its smaller predecessor, in whose proceedings I took a minor part some years ago as a nominated official member. But since the present Council came into being, copies of its proceedings have been reaching me regularly in a distant province, and I have read many of your important debates with great interest, and watched the process of growth taking place, which all believed would ensue from the enlargement of the electorate and the other profound changes made by the Government of India Act. My predecessor, Sir Harcourt Butler, and the retired Finance Member, Sir Ludovic Porter, have both paid tributes to the high quality of this Council's work, and it would be superfluous for me to add to what they have eloquently said.

In some ways, Mr. President and Honourable Members, the session in front of you will be a memorable one. The financial situation of the province has caused my Government great anxiety. I will not attempt to anticipate the story which my honourable colleague, the Finance Member, will in due course have to place before you. He will tell you the efforts which we have made, and are making, to reduce expenditure in every direction, and he will explain also the further steps which we think it necessary to take to increase our income. In that task I hope that the Council will assist us. I ask them to bear in mind, when our actual proposals are before them, first, the extent to which our present difficulties are due to causes over which the local Government, and perhaps any Government, have had no

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control; and, secondly, I ask them to remember that within the past few weeks the personnel of the local Government has undergone change to a rather unusual extent. Not only has the province lost Sir Harcourt Butler's great experience and abilities, but it has almost simultaneously lost in Sir Ludovic Porter a leader of this chamber, who had known it from its beginning and was in close touch with its opinions and feelings. I ask you, quite generally and without prejudice to any particular question, to bear these facts in mind and to give their successors a fair opportunity of proving themselves.

Of my own views and intentions I would simply say this. I realize acutely that we are short of money and that there are many needs. I shall, therefore, so far as in me lies, try to see that we save money where we can and that we spend wisely. Over and above that, I am, if possible, for a policy of peace and quiet. I wish to say no word about the distractions and excitements of the past, except this, that I am heartily glad they are to a great extent over. I hope that the province has before it a period of recuperation and quiet growth. In that hope my Government have decided to meet the wishes of this Council, as expressed in their recent resolution, and to release the political prisoners who were convicted last year in the time of excitement, with the exception of one man whose utterances amounted to an attempt to instigate murder. I do not disguise from myself for one moment the possibility that this decision may be misunderstood in some quarters, nor the risks which it entails. I think it perfectly possible that some of those who are let out of jail may attempt to revive a campaign of dangerous excitement. Well, we have had our experience and our warning, and we ought to know what to do if such attempts are made again. But I desire to say nothing minatory. I rely not so much on the vigilance of the Government, or on the powers of the law, as on the good sense of the people, whose representatives you are. I am told by many gentlemen with whom I have talked over this matter that the ordinary villager is thoroughly tired of such excitements, and is no longer likely to listen to those who tell him that the Government is a tyrannical and offensive body, and that with its disappearance and that of the

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European officers there will ensue a millennium, when people will pay no taxes and the land will flow with milk and honey. I hope that the advice which I have received is sound. At all events, we are going to make the experiment, and I trust the result will be as happy as our intentions are sincere.

There is one more matter that I have to lay before you. My Government, having taken into consideration the resolution passed by this Council in the December session, have decided to appoint a committee to go further into questions of economy in the administration. Mr. Fremantle has kindly agreed to accept the chairmanship, and I believe no better choice could have been made. The committee will consist of nine members, of whom it is proposed to ask this Council to elect six, and the terms of reference to the committee will be as follows: 'to make recommendations for all possible reductions of expenditure on subjects which are primarily the concern of the local Government'. In the short time I have been here I have seen how much thought and energy has already been devoted to search for economies, and what substantial reductions of expenditure have already been effected. The committee will find ready to their hand a vast amount of material, to which I have no doubt they will wish to add; but of one thing I am sure, that, whatever further savings they may consider possible, they will not find that they are tilling soil quite so virgin as some honourable members may have perhaps supposed. In passing, I ought to pay a tribute to the public-spirited action of my honourable colleague, the Home Member, and of both my Ministers in deciding during the present financial stress not to accept, whether in whole or part, the salaries provided for them.

There is only one other topic to which I shall refer. The elections for district boards and municipal committees are imminent, and in some quarters alarmist anticipations have been expressed. My view of these elections is that they are simply the means of enabling the local electorates to select the men they prefer for the purpose of conducting district board or municipal business; that there is no reason why political considerations should enter into them; and the Government have no intention of participating, or of directing its officers to participate, in such

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elections for the purpose of procuring the return of candidates of any particular species.

Gentlemen, let me repeat that I am very glad to meet you and to express a sincere hope that your relations with my Government, even if we shall not always see eye to eye in everything, will always be courteous and friendly. I will not now detain you longer from the programme of work before you.

DINNER OF THE INDIAN INSTITUTE OF ENGINEERS, LUCKNOW

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I have to thank you heartily for a kind reception and for a most courteous toast. Speaking for myself, I am not going to pursue the interesting topic of that form of political engineering with which you, Sir, have associated my name. Some time or other the signed plans and working drawings of the new political edifice may possibly be dug out of the archives and exposed to the light of day; and it will then be seen exactly whose names they do, or do not, bear. January 30, 1923

But perhaps I may approach you along other lines. I can quite honestly aver that among the many other things which I should have liked to be, if I had not been destined to be merely a member of an imported, expensive, alien, sun-dried, satanic bureaucracy—among them certainly would have been an engineer. That, gentlemen, is not merely a post-prandial fiction. So much is it the truth that I offered my son the choice of engineering as a career. I ought, in honesty, to add that he did not take it; though possibly, if he had listened to to-night's speeches, he might have decided to do so.

I think that the appeal which engineering makes to the average man's imagination is easily understood. Probably it dates back to the box of bricks—I am afraid, too often, German bricks—in childhood. I wonder how many of us, if put on oath, would have had to admit that even quite late in life they have played with clock-work trains or Meccano, very likely to the annoyance of the legitimate owners. The moral of that seems to be that we are all unconscious engineers. It is partly the intuitive pleasure in the creative faculty—in seeing the wheels go round or in watching the building rise. But it is also the higher philosophical enjoyment of realizing the triumph of mind over matter. I suppose I have seen the Suez Canal twenty times; but it still has an unfailing interest; not because of the

DINNER OF THE INDIAN INSTITUTE OF ENGINEERS

wanderings of the Israelities, nor even because of the fighting in the war ; but because of the satisfaction of realizing that here is a very strategically important bit of the world that man has physically shaped to his own purposes. To recast a well-known saying, Divinity may have rough-hewed the continents, but it is man, in the form of the engineer, who has shaped them to his ends. Therefore I always want to take my hat off to De Lesseps standing there upon the breakwater. I had the same feeling of admiration the other day when Sir George Godfrey showed me round the new dock-works in Calcutta, and the new Ronaldshay dredger which was going to cut up and suck in and eject the mud of Bengal at the rate of, I forget, how many feet or miles a minute.

But there is this quality also about good engineering, that besides being creative, it is beneficent work, just as surely as is good medical work ; and more surely so than some professions which I could, but will not, name. It makes steadily for the amelioration of life. One surely feels that in looking at a big bridge, like the Sara Ghat bridge, or many others in this country, for India is a land of big bridges. They are strong, friendly, courageous, helpful things, overcoming obstacles and helping the feeble feet. But perhaps I had that vision most clearly when I first saw the Ganges Canal twenty-six years ago, and watched tons of rushing water being led out of the sacred river, under one torrent and through the next and over a third, on to the nearest water-shed line, to distribute abroad, right and left, wealth and prosperity to thousands of people.

But I can think of another aspect in which the layman may well envy the engineer. Many of us are dealing only with fluid current business. We do our best, may be, but when our time comes and we pass on to another job, we must often say to ourselves—Well, there is mighty little to show for it all ! But the engineer knows that he has done a definite, solid, enduring piece of work ; it lives after him. Indeed, there may occasionally be times when it may even seem too durable. But that general quality of engineering work must be an abiding satisfaction to its authors. It is like writing a good book or composing a good piece of music. Well can I sympathize with my friend, Mr.

DINNER OF THE INDIAN INSTITUTE OF ENGINEERS

Kealinge, sitting down doggedly to build New Delhi through long years of apathy, if not of actual discouragement. Think of those Roman roads, on which motor buses and lorries now run in England; or the Roman aqueducts, which still carry drinking water to Italian towns. Let us hope that the New Delhi will be equally permanent.

I do not think you will expect me to say anything striking about your own institution. It is a truism to say that engineering works in India have been one of our most typical satisfactory gifts to her, that the engineering services, official and non-official, have stamped (as our Indian friends will agree) the West upon the East in India in the most permanent and beneficent form. Nor can it be doubted that annual meetings, such as yours, must be of the greatest value in confirming and sustaining individual effort and enthusiasm. To me, personally, your gathering has brought back an old friend in the shape of Sir Sydney Crookshank, who was an Under Secretary with me in these provinces twenty-four years ago, and whose buildings in Lucknow have done so much to beautify this city, including his plaster cupids on the roof of the ballroom in Government House.

For all these reasons I welcome you all to Lucknow and hope you will enjoy your visit. And now I have contributed more than my fair share to this evening's oratorical monument; and it is time for me to make way for the man who is going to lay the next layer of bricks.

ANNUAL COLLEGE DAY OF ISABELLA THOBURN COLLEGE, LUCKNOW

MISS NICHOLS, BISHOP WARNE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—
I am very glad to come here this afternoon, and I am greatly
February 2, 1923 obliged to you, Miss Nichols, for having, possibly
at some inconvenience, altered your dates so as
to enable me to be present. You will not expect me to say very
much. I have not the same intimate acquaintance as Sir Har-
court Butler had with educational problems and progress in
Lucknow, though I shall lose no opportunity of improving my
knowledge of them. But, like him, I can say that in other pro-
vinces than the United Provinces, I have had occasion to admire
and acknowledge the devoted work of American educationists ;
and, like him, I recognize and welcome the same spirit and energy
in this thriving college in whose precincts we are gathered ; and
I feel the same obligation, on behalf of Government, to express
our gratitude to the workers in so fine a cause.

Your report, Miss Nichols, has the great merit of candour.
It refers, where necessary, to setbacks as well as to triumphs,
and to difficulties ahead as well as to successes achieved. The
difficulties in the way of female education in this country are well
known. They will be overcome only by a combination of such
good work as is being done here with enlightened leadership on
the part of prominent Indians. The Legislative Council of this
province passed a resolution yesterday in which they professed
unanimously their faith in the capacity of Indian women to play
their part in the provincial electorate. That was a momentous
and courageous decision, and it must have encouraged all lovers
of progress. But on those who proposed and supported the
resolution and voted for it, it imposes an obligation to be resolute
and enthusiastic about female education. Competent judges
have reminded us of the extent to which political growth depends
not on the representatives so much as on the electorate. But
genuine responsibility on the part of the electors does imply a
certain diffusion of intelligence and education ; and, if the future

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women electors of the United Provinces are to play their part worthily, the attitude of their menkind generally towards the question of their education must, I think, be not a little modified.

I have deviated a little from the immediate subject before us. I congratulate you on the increase in enrolment, especially of *pardanishin* students, on the opening of your M.A. class, on the strength and excellence of your staff, and on your satisfactory relations with Lucknow University. I am glad to hear that your new buildings are so far advanced, and that you expect before many months to enter into possession of them. I should have been very glad if it had been possible for me to give you an assurance, here and now, of the extent to which Government can assist you with a grant, either for buildings, or for the maintenance of your University and Intermediate classes; but such is the financial situation, and so stringently are all demands of the kind being scrutinized, that it would be rash to say more than that your needs will, I am sure, be sympathetically considered by my honourable colleagues, and that, within the limits inexorably imposed upon them, my Government will do their best to help.

One of the oldest and soundest traditions of academic life is remembrance of benefactors. This is the first College Day of the Isabella Thoburn College since there died, some nine weeks ago, in retirement in Pennsylvania, Dr. James Thoburn, the pioneer American Methodist bishop in India, who, with his gifted sister, was chiefly instrumental in establishing the girls' schools in Lucknow, which have grown since into the college which bears her name. I have read with great interest the sympathetic account of his life and doings which recently appeared in the *Pioneer*. He had a remarkable range of activity both in time and space, and the effect of his devoted and creative work abides in India, from Garhwal to Calcutta and Burma. Here, in the centre of northern India, in the college which he and his sister founded, it is right to pay this tribute to his memory and to acknowledge the debt which India owes him.

Miss Nichols, it remains only to thank you for the delightful pageant, which has been a source of much enjoyment to us all. I wish you and your college, your staff and students, all success and happiness during the ensuing year.

MUNICIPAL BOARD OF ALLAHABAD

MR. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE ALLAHABAD MUNICIPAL BOARD,—I thank you very warmly for your kindness in welcoming me on my arrival in Allahabad, for the handsome casket in which you have presented your address, and particularly for saying that I come among you as an old friend. This was the first city of the province at which I ever alighted from the train ; and it was also the first place at which I was to learn something of administration and politics on more than the district scale. It was also in Allahabad, at the confluence of your two great rivers, that I first realized the appeal which religious piety makes to the men of India. One of my clearest memories is that of watching the guns of the Fort fire a funeral salute for the late Queen Victoria, over the heads of the white-robed crowd of pilgrims gathered in the river-bed below. In Allahabad, too, I first came into contact with the University, then the only university in the province, and respected the zeal for learning and enthusiasm which inspired it. Here, too, I first came to respect the authority and dignity of the High Court of Judicature, and to admire the marked way in which the judges have invariably maintained their authority and independence, without a trace of hostility or jealousy towards the executive Government ; and, by that admirable tradition, have done much to conserve the stability of this important and central province. You are perfectly right, therefore, in your implication that the claims of the official capital of the province to respect and consideration are well known to me.

Gentlemen, when I come to matters which are of more immediate interest to your municipal board, I speak with greater difficulty. I want to disappoint none of those who have the true interests of Allahabad at heart. But upon the question of the future relations of the Government with this city, it is much too soon for me to enter. I must have time to find out and to reflect. Some things are obvious. On no subject are feelings more

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readily stirred than that of the physical location of Government. Such an issue nearly wrecked the Union of South Africa at the last moment. A similar question has, after thirty years, not yet been effectually settled in the Commonwealth of Australia. A similar question also has aroused a certain resentment more recently in Calcutta breasts. No prudent man is anxious to embroil himself unnecessarily in such an issue. On the other hand, division of energies is expensive and inefficient. Whatever may be urged on other grounds, it cannot be denied that there are financial or administrative objections to trying indefinitely to maintain two seats of Government; and I can see how difficult it is going to be for any Governor to keep himself and his Government, under present conditions, in two different places, in any real and effective sense. It may be that we shall between us find some means of arriving at a solution. I am not entirely without hope. But, in the meantime, I can only say that for the moment I have no solution ready.

Turning now to questions of purely municipal administration, I can surely sympathize with your financial difficulties, because I have just been through the painful experience of realizing our own provincial penury. These are hard times and impose on us a policy of patience and restraint. I am sure you are wise in devoting yourselves to the search for economies, and I hope this possibility will be vigorously pursued. I know well enough that you have serious problems to face in the matter of your water-supply and drainage. I do not know the details intimately; but if it is the case that the board is hesitating to accept such offer of assistance as the Government made them, it may be wise for them to reflect that the longer acceptance is delayed, the more difficult it may become for Government to implement their offer. I am advised that the prospect of the Legislative Council's agreeing to any large grants is doubtful.

As regards the question of the eligibility for municipal membership of the political prisoners recently released from jail, I understand that this has substantially been settled by recent legislation; but in case any doubt upon the point remains, I may say that the Government do not regard conviction for offences not involving moral turpitude as a disqualification for municipal office.

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Gentlemen, you have honoured me with an address of welcome, for which I am grateful, and I should infinitely prefer to confine my reply strictly to the language of appreciation and compliment. But lest it be thought that I have neglected an opportunity which I ought to have taken, I want to say one word of caution. Do not misunderstand me, or think that I show any want of appreciation of the good work done by those who have devoted time and labour to the interests of this city. But I want to tell you, as gently as possible, that hints have reached me that there have been times in the past when the board needed to pull itself together, and to settle down to its particular business, without letting personal or sectional differences, or provincial or national politics, distract it from its proper programme. I hope that such complaints are exaggerated and in any case you are shortly going to start afresh. But in case there should have been substance in them, I would counsel the electors at the ensuing elections, and the new members in the future work of the board, to think first, if not to think exclusively, of their responsibilities to the residents and taxpayers of this great city. Only in this way can you all hope to keep the city worthy of its position as capital, which I know you are so eager to maintain.

I thank you, gentlemen, for the hope which you have expressed, and which I share, that during my term of office I may be fortunate enough to do something to further the best interests of the country.

DISTRICT BOARD OF ALLAHABAD

MR. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE ALLAHABAD DISTRICT BOARD,—I thank you very warmly for your cordial welcome on my coming here, and for the very handsome casket and tray with which you have presented your address. I am sorry that want of recent practice deters me from endeavouring to reply to your Urdu address in the same language; but I should like to add that after absence in foreign parts, where the conception of the Urdu tongue is somewhat different, the sound of it eloquently and familiarly spoken falls gratefully upon my ear. **February 7, 1923**

I hope that you will take what I said just now in reply to the municipal board as an assurance intended equally for yourselves of my interest in Allahabad. I realize the demands which this central city, with its seat of pilgrimage, its law courts, its University, its railway nexus, and its industries, directly makes upon your purse as representatives of the large and populous area of which you administer the local business. Your needs of money for education, especially female education, dispensaries and roads, are just those of which every progressive and enterprising district board is most conscious; and I have myself been chairman of a district board in sufficiently recent times to feel sympathy with your attitude and anxious outlook. That sympathy I know well that my honourable colleague, the Minister for Local Self-Government, shares. It needs no testimony from me, for it is written large in the new District Board Act, which he, in spite of various difficulties, carried through the Legislative Council. But, as you know, we are very short of money for provincial purposes; and the utmost that it is safe for me to say is that my colleague will be ready, and will have my full support in his readiness, to assist your district board to the extent to which the financial situation permits. You may not be the luckiest of all the boards in the province; but your position is at least not so bad as that of some. Your expenditure is less than your

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income, and you have hitherto had a large unspent balance, which will, in whole or part, be resumed in the settlement which will be made with the new district boards.

That brings me to my last point. I am particularly glad of this opportunity of making the acquaintance of one of the premier district boards in the province on the very eve of its assuming new and greater responsibilities. The independence and powers of the boards have progressed steadily in recent years, and the new Act has enlarged their opportunities to a point which emphasizes the confidence of the Government and the legislature in their increased capacity. Official participation in the business of the board will cease, and it will rest with the elected members and their elected chairmen to discharge their responsibilities towards the taxpayers and the public according to their conscience and ability. This remark applies to the tahsil committees as well as to the parent boards. With admitted needs before you, and but a slender hope of larger assistance from provincial funds, I can only advise the board to face such limited direct taxation as is, under section 108 of the Act, the legal preliminary to developing your real reserve of income in the shape of the local rates. I hope and trust that the new members will rise worthily to the occasion. They will not find the work easy. Every servant of the public incurs some unpopularity when he prefers the interests of the whole to those of a community or section or individual; and yet it is only by broadening the aim and seeking the well-being of the greatest number that true advance is possible.

I believe that there has been some criticism of the provisions of section 201 of the Act, which relates to the electoral rolls for the purpose of the first election. As to that, I need only say that the arrangement embodied in the law was arrived at, not as ideally perfect in itself but as a lesser evil than the delay and sudden expenditure which would be entailed in preparing a new electoral roll for the first elections. It is not my business to defend the law, but, speaking for myself, I may say that I agree with it.

Gentlemen, I wish you well in your new adventure. I can only counsel the electors of the Allahabad district, in picking

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their representatives upon the board, to seek out the men who are most likely to have the interest of the district at heart and to give freely and perseveringly time and hard work to promoting them. But while we look forward to the future, let us not entirely forget the past. On the eve of change I ought to pay a tribute to the work which for over forty years has been done by a long series of Collectors in this province in carrying on and developing district board work to its present level and extent. I was very glad to hear your words of gratitude for Mr. Knox's work in Allahabad, and of regret in parting company from him. But you will have him physically still at hand, and if you should feel the need for informal advice and support, he will be there, and willing, to give it.

ALLAHABAD IMPROVEMENT TRUST

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE ALLAHABAD IMPROVEMENT TRUST,—I thank you also most warmly for a kindly welcome, for your good wishes for my success in an office of some difficulty, and for the attractive casket in which your address has been presented. I have said enough this morning already, I hope, to convince you that I am not come here as one unmindful of your city's claim to attention and regard and unlikely to be interested in enterprises which, like yours, tend to her greater dignity and adornment.

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The immediate task before me is the lighter, in that the substance of your address is directed quite as much toward the general public as to myself. You say, and I think with justice, that works like yours cannot be entirely judged by their beginnings, and that it will take time for their complete benefits to be attained. Operations such as yours certainly go easier and more smoothly when a period of prosperity engenders confidence and enthusiasm in men's minds, than when the lean years come to make us question stringently the wisdom of, and indeed the justification for, every penny of expenditure. I am sorry that you should have encountered a change of weather so early in your voyage; and I am glad to be assured that, like wise seamen, you have begun to take in sail. In particular, with a contracted programme of work ahead of you, you will do well to avoid any suggestion of maintaining too heavy an administrative establishment.

Upon the general value of schemes for town improvement I need hardly enlarge. Most of us believe that too little attention has been paid in the past to such matters in the older cities of the world, and that urban populations would live under healthier and happier conditions if streets and parks and open places, railway connections and the location of particular trades and industries, had been arranged in such a way as to ensure the maximum of convenience and the minimum of discomfort. But

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we have not a clean slate to write upon, and, to judge from the experiences of other people who have had one, perhaps we should not have been entirely happy if we had. As it is, there are the habits of the population, the claims of established interests, and even what one may call the genius of the place, to be propitiated; and it is for a body like yours, gentlemen, to hold the balance fairly, and neither to be attracted to the impracticable by reason of its æsthetic or scientific appeal, nor deterred from what is beneficial, profitable, and capable of attainment simply because some forces of opposition are encountered.

I have read your last administration report; and I hope during my stay here to see something of your actual operations. I know that you have not had time to do very much material constructive work. You have as yet no independent income, and if you are to continue active there seems no alternative but for Government to finance you temporarily with grants or loans. I hope that my Government will be able to go into this matter closely in the near future. I will not forecast their decision, beyond saying that we are very short of money, and that it will be very difficult to give you as much either as we should like to give, or you would like to receive. As things are, you must not expect large sums, either in the form of grants or loans. And, seeing that money is likely to be short, I can only advise you to give precedence, as far as possible, to works of real necessity, such as the opening up of congested or insanitary areas and the housing of poor people and those ejected by your operations. On this understanding we will do our best, even though our best may not content you fully.

AGRICULTURAL INSTITUTE, ALLAHABAD

MR. HIGGINBOTTOM, DR. JANVIER, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—It gives me great pleasure to come here to-day and to associate myself with the tribute which we are paying to the memory of that distinguished and large-hearted American philanthropist, about whose life and work Dr. Janvier has just told us. On behalf both of those who are present here, and of that larger number who will in the future benefit by the hostel, I am glad to have had this opportunity of expressing our very cordial appreciation of the munificent gift of Miss Mary Converse and of the friends of the late Mr. Converse. This splendid hostel, now nearing completion, will constitute a lasting monument to their liberality.

It pleases me to remember that two old friends of mine, Lord Meston and Mr. Fremantle, have been already associated with the construction of this building. It was from Lord Meston that I first heard of the remarkable character and achievements of Mr. Higginbottom. I remember also his telling me that I ought to come and see the Institute, and I regret that I have never found a chance of doing so till now.

However greatly the industries of India expand, it is from her agriculture that the main wealth of the country will always be derived. The possibilities of contributing to the happiness of the people by improving cultivation seem infinitely greater than in any other direction, because the enormous majority of them depend directly or indirectly upon the soil. We know how small the average income of the cultivator is, and we all have visions of the immeasurable developments which may ensue if the output of the land can, by such efforts as these, be measurably increased. As you know, the Government in its Agricultural department is, in various ways, labouring at this problem. Here is another effort in the same direction, which derives its impulse

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from private energy and courage; and, needless to say, the Government welcome it and wish it all success.

I have seen a very enthusiastic and emphatic book, called *The Gospel and the Plow*, written by Mr. Higginbottom, which gives a clear-cut idea of the pioneer work being done here in the interest of the agriculturist. It is a book which I should like to commend to the attention of landed proprietors. It is very much to their interest that their tenants should be prosperous. In fact, I want zamindars and tenantry to feel that in respect of advancing and improving agriculture the interests of both are one. What is vital is not the matter of struggling for the profits, but the matter of promoting the common cause. I appeal to all the neighbouring landlords to do what they can to help the Agricultural Institute, which is really fighting their battle, and to assist it by taking an interest in it and encouraging their tenants to come and see what can be, and is actually being, done here.

I thank you, Mr. Higginbottom, for having given me this opportunity of unveiling this tablet.

AGRA PROVINCE ZAMINDARS' ASSOCIATION, ALLAHABAD

GENTLEMEN OF THE AGRA PROVINCE ZAMINDARS' ASSOCIATION,—I thank you heartily for the warmth of the welcome which you have been good enough to extend to me and for the handsome casket accompanying your address. I am very glad to have had this early opportunity of renewing my acquaintance with you. Many of you I hope I may call friends already. I was present when Sir James Meston laid the foundation stone of your headquarters building. I hope that, with the return of better times, you may soon find yourselves in a position to complete it. A regular office and hall with appurtenant buildings will help greatly to consolidate your body.

Your interesting address ranges over a wide field. You refer to the question of your representation in the legislature. I need not recount the stages by which the existing position was reached; but I may remind you that the allocation of seats is settled by electoral rules, which can be altered only with the assent of Parliament. I think that the Government of India would be unwilling to support isolated proposals for changes. To increase the representation of any particular class or body involves some disturbance of existing proportions, and your cause would certainly be strengthened if your representatives in the Legislative Council could persuade that body to see the justice of your demand.

Your complaint of the necessity of taking out arms licences has not escaped the notice of the committee recently appointed by the Government of India to review the Indian Arms Rules. They have suggested that this Government should be invited to consider whether the category of great zamindars is sufficiently elastic. All I need say, therefore, is that your desires in this matter are sure to come shortly under consideration.

Coming now to matters which concern you closer, I am glad to find that on one point I can at once assure you. The Government are already committed to the policy of embodying in

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statutory form the principles by which the settlement of the land revenue is regulated. A Bill codifying the instructions of the Board of Revenue upon settlement procedure has been already prepared and considered by the Settlement Committee. More I cannot tell you ; for I have not seen the Bill, nor do I know what opinion the Settlement Committee has formed upon it. The extension of the term of settlement and the limitation of the proportion of the assets to be taken as revenue are also questions which have been referred to the same committee, and upon them the Government have not committed themselves to any definite views. But I recognize the importance of every issue which affects the welfare of landlords and tenants, and the committee's recommendations will receive very earnest consideration when they are ready. At the same time, you will remember that it rests with the Government of India, and not with my Government, to extend the present term of thirty years, and, important as the interests of the landlords are, we clearly must also take into consideration the needs, future as well as present, of the other elements in the population.

With your third principle I have no sort of quarrel. It is only over its statutory interpretation that questions arise. You know that the amendment of the Agra Tenancy Act has been thought of for some time, and but for the disturbing influence of the great war, it is probable that ere this a new Act would have been placed on the statute book. It is likely that my Government may have to address themselves to this question ; and then the landlords of the Agra province will have their full opportunity of presenting their views. I do not myself believe that the future of any class or community depends in the main on legislation, but on the men who work it. In whatever form the Agra Tenancy Act eventually be recast, I am sure that the landlords hold their own future mainly in their own hands. They are in a strong position in the present Legislative Council, and traditions of great strength are in their favour. But in order to maintain their present position of advantage, they must adhere to the very principles which you have enunciated ; they must realize how conditions are changing and identify themselves with the prosperity of their tenants and the cause of agricultural advance. They must, in fact, show them-

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selves the true captains of the largest industry in the province. If they will do that, they need have no apprehensions. They may rely on Government to remember their services and their value and to help them in their reasonable desires.

You have concluded your address by pressing upon me the claims of this city to the treatment which its position deserves. Upon this subject I have recently said all that I have to say at present in reply to other addresses presented to me in Allahabad. I ask you, gentlemen, to rest content if for the moment I merely refer you to the remarks which I have already made.

I thank you warmly for your kind wishes for the success of my administration. The times are difficult and good wishes from a body like yours, which is in a position to give great assistance to the Government, come with real encouragement.

KAYASTHA PATHSHALA COLLEGE, ALLAHABAD

GENTLEMEN OF THE TRUSTEES, MEMBERS OF THE STAFF, AND STUDENTS OF THE KAYASTHA PATHSHALA,—I thank you for your friendly address. I am glad to show my interest in an institution which has such a **February 16, 1923** proud record of work behind it, and which is a notable example of beneficence and sustained effort, successfully devoted to the advancement of learning. I join in your tribute to the memory of the founder of this institution, the late Munshi Kali Prasad Kulabhashkar. Through his munificence and the devoted and unselfish labours of your community, which has a traditional enthusiasm for education, this institution has grown from a primary school to the large dimensions of to-day.

Since my distinguished predecessor addressed you in 1920, great changes have occurred in the higher educational system of this province. The Allahabad University has been reconstituted, and a board of high school and intermediate education has been set up. I will not endeavour to deal to-day with the deep significance of these changes; though I may say that I have this morning visited the university, and have been impressed with the work which is being done, and with its immense potentialities for good. I am glad to recognize that you are eager and preparing yourselves to take a worthy part in the new educational era that is opening before us. I believe that your institution, like so many others, felt the stress of the political excitements of a year ago; but that the trustees wisely kept their eyes fixed upon true educational ideals. You have eloquently described your ideal of the future university and of the part that your college should play in it. You are equally anxious that your intermediate college should be a model of its kind and that your middle school be maintained on a high level of efficiency. That is to say, you are facing the educational problem as a whole and

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not confining your attention to any part exclusively. This is, if I may venture to say so, the right attitude to take.

I feel confident that the students of the Kayastha Pathshala will not only distinguish themselves in the schools, but will carry onward with them in life the tradition of self-reliance and self-sacrifice of which this institution is a striking monument. I am glad to hear that you have already collected nearly three lakhs for meeting the cost of your building schemes, and that the total amount promised exceeds four lakhs. I join with you in thanking those liberal and public-spirited benefactors, dead as well as living, whose help has made possible such results.

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LA MARTINIERE COLLEGE, LUCKNOW

TRUSTEES AND GOVERNORS OF LA MARTINIERE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I thank you for your kindly greeting. I join with you in your acknowledgments to Sir Harcourt Butler. The valuable memorandum, which he as a **February 23, 1923** governor of this institution drew up in 1908, has led to far-reaching and beneficial changes in the organization of the boys' college. While I cannot claim the same honour of being associated with this college as one of its past governors, I can at all events affirm my deep and genuine interest in its well-being. La Martinière is one of the earliest European schools to be founded in this country, and, with its historic buildings, its endowments and its magnificent playing fields, it enjoys much of the equipment of an English public school.

We miss to-day a notable presence at these gatherings, the late Mr. Hilton. His death recalls the immortal services rendered by La Martinière boys in the defence of the Residency. For it has been one of the proud traditions of this college to come to the assistance of the Empire at some of the most critical moments of its history. During the great war La Martinière boys fought in many fields and laid down their lives in the cause of the Empire. That is something to be very proud of. I have no doubt that the achievements of this college in times of peace will be equally distinguished. In the rapidly changing political conditions of this country, a school like this, with its opportunities for the formation of character and the development of *esprit de corps*, can play a most important part in creating a true spirit of citizenship. I hope that when the boys of this school pass into the world they will take their proper share as citizens of the new India with which their destinies will be linked.

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Ladies and Gentlemen, I am very glad of the opportunity which you have given me of coming here this afternoon and taking part in these interesting proceedings. I doubt, however, if

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any of you really know the diffidence with which a presiding official complies with the established practice, which expects him on such an occasion to attempt to offer advice to those who are about to leave the school and enter on a wider field of life. Youth has its own peculiar problems, and age may think that it remembers and understands them; but youth knows better. Still, I will say a word or two, and if the words are on very well-worn lines, they may perhaps be none the worse for that. To those of you who are staying on, I say: Make the very most and best of your remaining time at school. Remember that you are storing up character and knowledge, every ounce of which you will need in the future when the real struggle comes; remember that in the staff and in your school-fellows you have friends and allies working for you whose like you will indeed be lucky if you find in the larger world. To those who are leaving, I say this: You have been formed in a fine school. You owe it much. You have to show yourselves worthy of it. *Labore et constantia*, your motto, sums up a high rule of life. Energy and purpose; to have an aim, to stick to it, and to pursue it vigorously. The times ahead are not going to be easy for many of us; but no man or woman who has it in him or her to be true to such a precept need be afraid of any future. I wish those who are going hence all success and good fortune in the great adventure before them, and to La Martinière itself I wish another equally successful year of effort and expansion.

BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION OF OUDH, LUCKNOW

TALUQDARS OF OUDH,—I have in the past been privileged to attend receptions which you have given to Viceroy and to Lieutenant-Governors in this same *baradari*. That **February 28, 1923** was a long time ago, and I did not dream that such a privilege would ever come to me. I thank you warmly for the courtesy of your welcome, for the very friendly language of your address, and for the beautiful and valuable silver tray which you have given me.

I am not known to you as my predecessor was ; but I strongly desire to win your confidence, and that of all other classes of the community, by considerate and impartial attention to all legitimate interests. You know that the times are difficult, not merely for the ancient landed families, who feel that their position may be threatened by the unloosing of the forces of democracy ; but also for all of us, Members, Ministers, Governor and government officers, who often have to take account of and pay deference to conflicting and divergent principles. No government in these days can hope to please all the critics who are watching it ; but, if it does its best to be straightforward and fair, I believe that not only the taluqdars of Oudh, but most people of this great province—a province of which we are all proud and the well-being of which means much to India—will give it reasonable, and indeed generous, support.

After expressing the hope—which I entirely share—of the steady and peaceful advance of this country along the path of political progress, you go on, gentlemen, to refer to various matters of interest to your order. The first is that of the direct representation of your body in both chambers of the Indian legislature. As you know, the distribution is settled by electoral rules, which can be altered only with the assent of Parliament. That arrangement indicates an intention that the distribution of seats should generally remain unchanged until the next revision

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of the constitution. I know that very great difficulties were experienced in fitting into the two chambers of the Indian legislature all the seats to which claims from various provinces and interests might forcibly be urged. One reason which weighed in the decision taken was the knowledge that revenue and rent questions were henceforth to be mainly provincial matters; and the feeling that for that reason the great landlords' position would be more appropriately secured in the local than in the central bodies. Certainly, whatever we may say here, the Government of India would feel that many other interests besides your own were involved. They would not, I imagine, be keen on taking up your case by itself, and still less would they be anxious to initiate a general discussion, which would certainly lead to their being pressed by other interests also. Personally, I am willing to bring your wishes to their notice, but unless they wish to raise the general question, I do not think that they would thank this Government for pressing it on them.

Gentlemen, you next refer to the resolution carried through the Legislative Council in December last in favour of revenue settlements. Now I have read the debates with interest, but it would not be appropriate for me to comment on them here. As you know, we have already appointed a committee to consider, amongst other things, this very matter; and we shall be on safer ground in not dealing with the question until we have received and considered the report of the Settlement Committee, which has been asked to advise us on it. Very important issues are at stake. The interests of other classes than either the landowner or the tenant are involved. Nor is this all. The interests of central revenues are also so far affected that the statutory rules require any local enactment affecting the period of settlement to be reserved by the Governor for the sanction of the Governor-General. Over and above this, we ourselves have been heavily preoccupied since the end of December, and the pressure is likely to be sustained till April. But this important matter is bound to come before us ere long, and we shall do our best to examine it thoroughly and justly.

You next refer to recruitment for the services. I am glad to find, as I was sure I would find, that the Government have not

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disregarded your claims in the past. When six persons were nominated to the Indian Civil Service under the special scheme in 1919, no less than three of them came from taluqdari families. Moreover, you have now open to you a new and important field, admirably suited to your qualifications, in the shape of commissions for the Indian army. Indeed, I think it clear, in all cases in which interviews or selections are part of the process of appointment, that qualities such as those which you have enumerated—'high birth, hereditary aptitude for administration, intimate acquaintance with rural and agricultural conditions and unflinching loyalty to the Government'—qualities such as these will weigh heavily with a selecting committee. And even where appointments are made by examination, as for deputy collectors, there is an interview prescribed and marks are awarded on personal grounds. I think the percentage of appointments which have recently been granted to taluqdari families, both as deputy collectors and deputy superintendents, is a fair one; that is to say, you have been fairly represented in the services in which you are specially interested and for which your sons show special aptitude. But you, perhaps, are thinking more of the future than of the past. It is true that in response to the spirit of the times the administration is tending to divest itself more and more (incidentally, to its own enormous relief) of patronage of the old-fashioned kind. But there is this to be said: wherever previous selection comes in, the qualities claimed in your address will count; and so far as education goes, from what I have heard of the flourishing condition of the Colvin Taluqdars' School, under the charge of my friend, Mr. Conway Rees, I see no ground for apprehension.

Finally, you touch on the question of a Chief Court for Oudh. As you know, this scheme had made good progress before I came into office, and the recent resolution of the Legislative Council affirmed the desire of that body to see it carried into effect. That expression of opinion in favour of raising the Judicial Commissioner's Court to the status of a Chief Court is one that my Government respect. Of course, it is a question of money, and it will rest mainly with the Legislative Council, having heard the financial proposals which the Hon. Mr. O'Donnell

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has to-day laid before them, to say whether they are prepared to back their opinion effectively by assisting us to find the money.

Gentlemen, I do not care to end upon the note of conventional compliment. In his eloquent address of farewell to you, an address charged with a warmth of feeling begotten of nearly thirty years of friendship, Sir Harcourt Butler offered you counsel which I cannot hope to better. After referring to the criticisms to which your position exposes you, to the need for combination in defence of your legitimate interests, to your steadfast loyalty and your proud munificence, he added: 'You must move with the times, for the times will not wait for you; and, while taking your stand upon the ancient ways, take care that your eyes are turned to the future. Give your children the best possible education, treat your tenants well, and settle your estates, or parts of them, under the Oudh Settled Estates Act.' These words express the hope of my Government, too, for the taluqdars of Oudh. For my own part, I ask you not to be too seriously perturbed by such differences of emphasis or method as are inseparable from changes in personnel. I hope that this province will never become one vast whispering gallery. My Government are, of course, face to face with acute financial difficulties. That in itself imposes severe restraints and cautions upon us. But let no one imagine that, under shelter of the pretext of economy, we are going insidiously or surreptitiously to undo decisions already taken.

I thank you all once more for your assurance of loyalty, co-operation and support, and for your prayer that my term of office may be useful. Both your assurance and your prayer are very welcome.

BANQUET GIVEN BY HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF BENARES

YOUR HIGHNESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I thank you, Maharaja Sahib, very warmly for the generous terms in which you have proposed my health. I do gratefully acknowledge the friendly spirit with which the new Governor has been welcomed in his old province. I realize how true it is that expectations pitched too high may result in disappointment; but if that must be my destiny, as it has been that of others before me, it will not be for lack of efforts on my part to avoid it. To be called to the administration of this historic province is a very proud as well as onerous office. I claim no desire to shape its fortunes according to any preconceived conceptions of my own. The spirit of growth is abroad in the land; and whether my time here is long or short, I shall be well content if, when its conclusion comes, it is remembered of me that I tried to keep the United Provinces in tranquillity and health, and to give such expression to the wishes of its people as was consistent with the maintenance of order and stability, and did something to transmute that vagueness and cloudiness of mind, to which Your Highness has alluded, into the confidence and assurance which comes from definite experiment and ascertained results. The problem before us has been described as that of building up a new structure without prematurely destroying the old one, before the new material has had time to set and harden sufficiently to stand the strains and stresses which circumstances will impose upon it. That is a task of great difficulty. No one can be sure exactly how we shall succeed in it; but the fact that a disinterested and detached observer like Your Highness can perceive it so clearly, and sympathize with us in our endeavours to handle it, is a good augury and a great encouragement.

It is now more than six years since I last enjoyed Your Highness' hospitality at Chakia and rejoiced at being able to

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forget the worries of a loaded office table in the seclusion of your pleasant jungles. But I have paid many visits to Benares before that, and at every visit have I heard and seen with admiration something of Your Highness' public activities. This great city of Benares contains many examples of the wise and generous liberality of the Rajas of Benares. From the Sanskrit College, which grew out of a school founded by Raja Balwant Singh nearly two centuries ago, to the Hindu University, which I had the pleasure of seeing yesterday and which is, as its Vice-Chancellor described it, a child of only the last few years, there is no public institution which has not benefited at your hands. Of the great assistance given by the State during the war it is unnecessary for me to repeat what has been said by my predecessors and by successive Viceroys of India during their visits to Benares. In the recruitment of personnel, in the provision of war material and medical assistance, and in contribution to Government loans, the State records stood very high. I read a summary of them this morning recorded upon the war memorial at Ramnagar. Indeed, were such testimony needed, I would say, *Si monumentum requiris circumspecte*. I should recall the fact that this hall of the historic Mint building, in which we are dining to-night, was during the great war a hospital, where Your Highness' liberality provided skilled medical attention for the alleviation of the sufferings of many of the gallant men who suffered in the cause, as dear to India as to the allied nations of Europe and America, of liberty and justice. In fact, if I were disposed to be cynical, I might suggest that people of this part of the province have become so habituated to relying on handsome gifts from Your Highness that they have, to some extent, lost the habit of contributing themselves.

Within the Benares State also the same spirit has been manifest. Your subjects have reason to be grateful for the care taken to secure their well-being. In a great measure this is due to the selection of capable officials, among whom I recollect some members of that United Provinces police service, of which I was lately proud to be Inspector-General, and some of the United Provinces executive service. It is due also to the constant supervision of their work and to the support given to them by

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Your Highness. The experiment which you have recently made in associating residents of your State with the administration of local affairs is one that appeals to me ; I shall watch its development with great interest and compare it with that of our own British districts. I know that in the Benares State, as in the adjoining British districts, attempts have also been made to create discontent and to arouse evil passions ; but I am glad to know that these attempts have been wisely and satisfactorily countered, and have failed to have any lasting effect.

Every visitor from another country to Benares is profoundly impressed by the associations which it has for everyone professing the Hindu religion ; and among these stands out the intense desire of every Hindu that he may end his life beside the Ganges. So strong is this feeling that to describe a man as *Kashi bas* is almost equivalent to saying that he has nearly completed his life. It is only a few months ago that a friend of Your Highness, and of mine, Mr. W. E. M. Campbell, late Commissioner, went from Benares on leave after fruitful service there and will return to us no more. Besides being a kindly and great-hearted gentleman, he was a constant well-wisher of Your Highness and of the Benares State, and I know that you and his many friends in this hall to-night will join me in expression of profound sorrow at his sudden and lamented death.

I have spoken of Your Highness' services as a patriot and as an administrator. I know that you are also distinguished as a patron of literature and as a champion of orthodox Hinduism ; but, after all, it is in your identification with this holy and world-famous city that Your Highness' figure stands out most prominent in my mind. They speak of you as *Kashi naresh* (lord of Benares) ; and for any one of Your Highness' race and religion there can be no prouder title. On the first holiday which I took in India twenty-six years ago, I came to Benares in the capacity of an admiring sightseer. It is one of the places of which, when I leave India, I should wish to carry away the most recent memories. Here, as hardly anywhere else, can a man, however ignorant he be of Sanskrit and the Brahminical writings, get an insight into that spirit of Hinduism that has pervaded so many of the millions of India.

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It remains for me only to wish Your Highness and the State, and this great, religious, historic and educational city all happiness ; and to promise that, in so far as in me lies, I shall endeavour to make the wish good.

INDIAN CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, UNITED PROVINCES, LUCKNOW

GENTLEMEN,—I thank you for your kindly welcome and good wishes, which I highly value. Governors in these days have reason to be grateful to all who will judge their doings without prejudice and in a liberal spirit. **March 24, 1923**

As you know, the Government in this country stand pledged to do justice to all religious interests impartially and to favour none. None the less, there must be a natural bond of sympathy between the Christian power, from which the Government in India has actually derived its origin, and those people of this ancient land who have embraced and now share in the Christian religion and its observances. I have watched the development of your community with sympathetic interest. I rejoice at every step of advance which you achieve, and every indication of your growing influence, energy and independence. I noted a resolution by some body, representative of your community, in favour of abandoning communal representation in the Councils in favour of territorial. I do not know if you agree with it; but to me it seemed a courageous step forward. I acknowledge your services during the war, your steadiness during the subsequent times of political unrest, and the great value of your work in social reform and services, mission schools, colleges and hospitals. I am aware that in the field of religious, as in that of political, life questions of great importance are forcing themselves to the front. The spirit of growth and independence is at work; and you, as well as other members of the Christian Church in India, will have to form a definite opinion as to what the future of your church is to be, and how far it is to be dissociated from the parent stock. The decision is one of immense importance to the happiness of your community and also to the contribution which your religion will make to the social and political development of India. I pray that it may be wisely taken.

Your address, gentlemen, is in this respect unusual, in that it

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makes no complaints and puts forward no requests. This argues a degree of contentedness with your lot, which it is seldom my experience to encounter ; and I can only hope that it is a true index of your real well-being and will long continue.

MEETING OF THE COURT OF LUCKNOW UNIVERSITY

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COURT OF LUCKNOW UNIVERSITY,—It gives me great pleasure to accept the invitation of your Vice-Chancellor to preside at the opening meeting of the first Court of Lucknow University assembled after my assumption of office. **March 29, 1923**

The interesting and sympathetic review which the Vice-Chancellor has given of the past achievements of the University, his eloquent tribute to its far-sighted founder, and his expression of heartfelt aspirations for the future, have made it needless for me to attempt to speak to you of such things. Nor will I myself enlarge upon the services which your Vice-Chancellor has rendered to the University, because I see that very subject is one of the first matters set down for consideration upon the agenda paper. Nor am I sure what Dr. Chakravarti's wishes are as regards some of the resolutions which are to be moved. But I am glad that your proceedings are to open with expressions of gratitude for his services, and you may rest assured that whatever recommendation comes to me as Chancellor, from the authority made competent by the Act to make it, will receive most careful consideration.

Gentlemen, I have not had enough experience of university questions in this province to know whether the relations of the Chancellor to the various other university authorities are regarded by those interested as being simply those categorically enumerated in the University Act, or what significance was intended by the legislature to be attached to its description of the Chancellor as head of the University. That there must be limitations upon the extent to which the Chancellor can personally share in the business of the Court is, to my mind, obvious. It must be remembered that he is in fact a double personality; not merely the president of the University Court, but also a member of a Government which owes responsibilities in various other directions and

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comprising an Hon. Minister (who I am glad to see present here) who is placed in charge of educational matters. For that reason, the extent of the Chancellor's active personal participation in the business of the Court may not always accurately measure, and will not, I hope, be taken to measure, his real interest in the fortunes of the University.

I have belonged in my time to two universities, one old and one young. The old one had won world-wide reverence, because for hundreds of years it had fought the battle of the sanctity of learning and the honour of the scholastic career. The young one had still its repute to win in the world ; but, guided and controlled as it was by men who were familiar with the standards and ideals of older universities, it combined a jealous defence of its own right of self-determination with a most determined resolve to uphold the level of education and the value of its degrees. So jealous was it of its good name, and so resolved to avoid the slightest suspicion of the lowering of its degrees, that it caused the examination papers for its degrees and honours to be set and marked by examiners twelve thousand miles away from the examinees who presented themselves in the examination hall. That is an example which no Indian university can perhaps be expected to imitate ; but none the less it has, I hope, a certain idealistic interest for all our new universities which have yet to make good. For surely it is as true of a university, as of anything else, that, however necessary some measure of quantity must be for the attainment of any measure of quality—and I shall be the last person to deny that proposition—yet in the long run it is quality, and not quantity, that counts.

Gentlemen, you have a heavy programme of work before you and I will not longer detain you ; but I must not sit down without wishing that your deliberations may be conducted with wisdom, to the benefit of the University and to the great cause which it embodies.

UNITED PROVINCES HISTORICAL SOCIETY, CANNING COLLEGE, LUCKNOW

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—Although my friend Mr. Burn has lured me into this chair, he knows quite well that I have come here to show my interest in your society, and with no pretence of having anything original **March 31, 1923** to say to you about history. I said so to a friend as I was starting to come here. He cynically suggested that I should remind you of the old woman who said she had no use for history; she believed in the maxim 'Let bygones be bygones'.

In some sort, we are all history lovers. Most of us have a liking either for action or letters, and so the artistic telling of great doings appeals to one side or the other of our nature. That is why Herodotus' story of the Persian wars, or Thucydides' account of the Athenian disaster in Syracuse, Motley's description of the struggle in the Netherlands, or Napier's noble story of the Peninsular War, will be enjoyed by literary readers to the end of time. I do not mean that the events were not of importance to the world, because obviously they were; but still the appeal made by such history as this lies mainly in the art of the historian, working upon our own sympathy with the personages involved. This is history tinged with poetry and emotion, and raised by nobility of language into great literature.

But there is also the simpler love of history which is born of the desire for accurate knowledge of the past, however undramatic or unexciting. We still want to know how men of past days lived and moved and had their being, and what they did in their various problems and difficulties. It has been said that interest in such inquiry is scientific, and springs from the conviction that 'history repeats itself'; that we desire to know these things (just as we desire to know about the crops, or the weather, or diseases), because such exact knowledge of the past is a key to the present and also to that future, which, to quote the first great master of all history, 'will in all probability repeat or

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resemble the past'. In this view the study of human history is only part of the necessary sum of knowledge which every prudent man should acquire if he is to make the best struggle with his environment.

I cannot examine this theory closely. We can see that it contains a large measure of truth. The eternal truths of human nature and human conduct do subsist. The story of Athens' dealing with the Melians might have conveyed its warning to Germany contemplating the violation of Belgium. Lincoln's experience with the draft in the American Civil War must have strengthened the Home Government's hands in insisting on compulsory service. In particular, military historians tell us that all changes in material and method have not changed the root principles of military and naval warfare. That may well be, because in war the human element is ultimately the one thing that counts. But I can imagine the advocate for the other side making a good case too. He would deny that conditions ever repeat themselves. He would point out that in the infinite complexity of life and circumstances precisely the same situation cannot possibly recur. He would 'distinguish' the immediate case from all its predecessors, and emphasize the new elements detected in it. He can argue subtly, that even our very knowledge of our forefathers' experience A1 differentiates our own attitude in face of experience A2 from that of our forefathers' towards what seemed a like position.

Between opposing theories let us appeal to practice: the answer seems to be that our reaction to the teachings of history is mostly indirect. We do not go directly to history for a code of conduct. Rather we make our own daily diet of it, as of sound and body-building food, believing that whatever we have absorbed of it will contribute something to our effective energies when they are called into play; and feeling it no more necessary to be able to refer our daily activities to some exact precedent in the past than it would be to recall to memory all the dinners that we have ever eaten.

I suggest that one reason for liking history is because it flatters our belief in the continuity of existence. If we are here in the sunlight just for some five or six decades, without reference

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to past or future, it seems to matter so much less how we bear ourselves. But if the story of the past shows us to ourselves as the product of infinitely numerous and differentiated ancestors, and also as ourselves the begetters of infinitely numerous and differentiated human progeny, then life gains in dignity and importance. Not only are we bound to do our best out of loyalty to those before and after, but the mere business of tracing out our forefathers' doings and of recording our own becomes not only intensely interesting, but almost a filial duty. I suppose it is safe to say that never was the material for the future historian being laid up so rapidly as now. Some of its meaner manifestations we may regret; but of the pains and industry that are now being expended on the mere process of recording events as they occur there can be no doubt.

History, it seems, ebbs and flows with stagnation and activity in human life. Just as the airman or the hunter finds it easier to descry a moving object, so what attracts the historian's eye is the movement in the world of thought or action. Periods of change and growth are his special hunting ground. There is little real history written when men's lives stagnate under the shadow of theocracy or priest-craft or settled despotism. History seems to have revived in England with Clarendon and the English Revolution, and on the Continent with the many writers whom the French Revolution begat. I have seen the comparative lack of systematic history in India prior to the Moghuls ascribed to the Indian's absorption in the spiritual world and his disdain for the commonplace details of ephemeral existence. But it seems also possible that through long periods there occurred nothing very interesting to record. Is it a very wise, or a rather unwise, saying that declares that 'Happy are the people who have no history'?

History is full of sorrows and tragedies; but the more hopeful judgment takes these for the pains of growth or travail. In this view it may be doubted whether there was ever offered to the historian a richer field than the world presents to-day. There is a greater task to be written than the story of the Peloponnesian War, or even the Decline or the Fall of the Roman Empire, in telling the story how modern civilization was shaken to its foundations by the violence of one great power; how it was saved

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by millions, who hardly gave a thought before to such matters as freedom and justice because they seemed too inevitable and too secure ; and what sort of world eventually emerged when the long aftermath of upheaval and confusion had spent itself.

I have taken you into generalities ; but at all events my random remarks will throw into relief the concrete figure which Mr. Yusuf Ali is going to present to us—Baber, the gallant young soldier of fortune, the great invader, the leader of men, the organizer of government, swordsman, archer and poet, loving the good things of life, amused at his own failings, and looking on life with cheerful and humorous eye. He is a striking and picturesque figure, which, whatever our conception of history is, will always appeal to every lover of romance and action in a simpler age. I now call upon the lecturer to read his paper.

TRUSTEES OF THE SHIA COLLEGE, LUCKNOW

GENTLEMEN,—I thank you for your welcome and for the kind terms in which you have expressed it. I am sorry that I have not prepared myself to reply to you in Urdu; but, if I may say so in passing, I was **April 4, 1923** greatly impressed by the elegance of the Urdu in which the address was read. It was a pleasure to listen to language so eloquent and sonorous. I am glad to meet you here to-day, and I have been interested in hearing from your own lips an account of the difficulties which hamper your plans for the educational advancement of your community. You will not expect me, in reply to an address of welcome, to solve out of hand difficulties which call for investigation and full consideration. I have, however, been at pains to make preliminary enquiries into the two principal causes of your uneasiness; and I hope that we may find it possible later on to work together for their satisfactory solution. But neither are my enquiries yet complete, nor can I, as Governor, take it upon myself to give pledges without consulting my colleagues, who have been hard pressed during the past two weeks. You may rest assured, however, that not only do I recognize the fine ambition embodied in your scheme as a whole, but that I am fully conscious also of the great importance which you assign to those parts of it which deal with religious instruction and the satisfactory location of the projected buildings, the two subjects to which you have particularly drawn attention to-day.

As I say, I must reserve details for official discussion and considered decision hereafter. You may, however, be assured that in the religious sphere the Government will further your wishes in any way compatible with their declared policy and with the Act governing the constitution of the University to which your college will belong. That college is not yet in being, nor have the plans for its material inception yet reached a form which carries the question of religious instruction into the region of practical affairs. It may be that the difficulties which you

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apprehend will be found, in the fuller light of experience and actual development, to be less formidable than you anticipate. Meanwhile, I shall be happy to examine the whole question in consultation with my advisers, and we will endeavour, with your help, to devise a satisfactory solution.

As to the location of your buildings, I sympathize with you in the difficulties which you have encountered. You have given me no statement of your financial position. Your building plans and your finances must necessarily be considered in close conjunction. I understand, however, that your existing resources preclude you from simultaneously building an intermediate college and a college for university studies, and that, inasmuch as a choice must be made between them, you wisely intend to give precedence to the former. But for this, namely, the intermediate college, I am advised that part of the existing site on the Fyzabad Road is eminently suitable and is also still available. Remoteness from the university will not hamper the intermediate college, though it would be a serious handicap to the college proper. By the time you are able to finance the more important institution, I hope we shall, in consultation, be able to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the problem of its site. I can promise you the help of my Government and myself. But your immediate difficulty is that of finance. I hope that this meeting and my reply will assure your community sufficiently of the good-will of Government to enable you to make further successful efforts to secure money.

You refer to the traditional loyalty of the Shias, and I acknowledge the assistance which Government have derived from your support in the recent times of unrest. A determined attempt was made about a year ago, by cunningly devised lies and rumours, to shake your faith in the Government. Wild stories of bombardment and outrage against your sacred places were circulated by interested persons, and some waverers were deceived. The agitation soon died down and passed, without affecting the general attitude of your community. The stories are now utterly discredited, and the great majority who stood firm realize how justified was their confidence in the good faith of the British Government.

CONVOCATION OF THOMASON ENGINEERING COLLEGE, ROORKEE

MAJOR SANDES, PROFESSORS AND STUDENTS OF THE THOMASON COLLEGE,—I thank you warmly for the kind terms in which you have welcomed me. It has been a great pleasure to me to take the earliest opportunity, **July 12, 1923**

as Governor of the United Provinces, of re-visiting your institution, and of reviving an acquaintance which goes back to the year 1898, when I was posted to this sub-division of Roorkee as junior assistant magistrate. During this quarter of a century I have seen the rapid advancement of the college under a succession of able and devoted teachers. Among them I would like to name the three principals known personally to me, namely, Colonel Clibborn, General Atkinson and Mr. Gunnell Wood. It is a particular pleasure to me that on the occasion of my first official visit here, I have to welcome my old and close friend, Sir Edward Maclagan, whose province marches with our own not many miles from here, and who has kindly consented to give away the prizes this morning. I am sure it must be a delight to him to find this institution, over which his father presided more than sixty years ago, developed into a first-grade engineering college, with a fine record of service to the Empire both in war and peace. We, of a later generation, owe a debt of remembrance to the early principals of the college, and it is in this grateful spirit that we recall the name of Colonel Maclagan.

Sir Harcourt Butler devoted part of his speech a year ago to tracing the growth and progress of the college from rather small beginnings through seventy-five years of vigorous life. Like him, I am confident that the high traditions established from the beginning will survive, and that Roorkee students will continue to win renown, not merely as skilled engineers but as men mindful of the honour of their profession and the good name of their college.

On occasions like this I wish sometimes that the rôles of

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Governor and Principal were reversed, and that it fell to me to propound the questions and to the other man to attempt to answer them. It is embarrassing to be so often unable to say anything definite upon the matters of greatest interest to one's audience. That, unfortunately, is the case to-day. This is not the time for me to touch upon your relations with the Allahabad University, a question which is still under examination by the authorities concerned. You refer also to the need for a new water and electrical supply. Here also I must answer with oracular vagueness. Government realize fully the importance of such schemes for the well-being of the college. They are works of a character which I should like to see pushed on not only here, but in many other places in the provinces; but (there always is the same monotonous 'but') they involve heavy financial liabilities and I cannot say at present when and how far it may be possible to give effect to them. I have no doubt that my honourable colleague, Raja Parmanand, Minister of Education, whom I am glad to see here to-day, will give your wishes sympathetic consideration.

Turning now to the interesting review which you have given us of the work of the past session, I note with pleasure the efficient way in which the local detachment of the auxiliary force has discharged its duties, under the competent command of Lieutenant D. Maclaren. Here, as in all sound institutions, both students and teachers recognize the great importance of organized games and athletics in the building of character and in forming those habits of discipline and self-reliance which are so helpful in facing the wear and tear of life; and for the engineer the contests of the playing fields are a valuable preparation for the tougher and more prolonged struggle against the forces of nature, opponents which have a way of using their strength remorselessly and without particular regard to the rules of the game. I heard with pleasure, Major Sandes, your cordial appreciation of the services of the staff, and on behalf of Government I should like to endorse your acknowledgments.

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It is usual on these occasions to give advice to outgoing students. I feel sure that my friend, Sir Edward Maclagan, will

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do this much better than I should, and I hope that he will find bound to make good what I leave unsaid. It is for the authority who gives away the prizes to supply the powder with the jam. But I will, before concluding, give you three plain propositions. They are these: first, you outgoing men have got to put in practice what you have learned here, and for the sake of the college which has taught you and done its best for you, you ought to do your best; secondly, that you are fortunate in entering what I may call a constructive profession, in which there is abundant good work to be done and in which good work tells its own tale and brings tangible results; I need only refer you to the great object-lesson lying almost before your gates—which I never see without admiration—the Ganges Canal; and lastly, that there is probably no other career which offers greater opportunities for Europeans and Indians of working together so as to advance the material prosperity of this great country and the contentment of its people.

I now ask Sir Edward Maclagan to address you.

MUNICIPAL BOARD OF ROORKEE

MR. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE ROORKEE MUNICIPAL BOARD,—I am very glad to have this opportunity of meeting you

and of discussing your affairs, and I thank you
July 12, 1923 for your address, the brief and businesslike tone of which I much appreciate. I shall imitate you and waste no time in proceeding to the matters which you have at heart.

You describe your town as small but important. No one will gainsay the latter claim. Besides the Thomason Engineering College, which you mention, Roorkee contains the canal workshops and foundry, also headquarters and workshops of the 1st Prince of Wales' Own Sappers and Miners. These three institutions have made Roorkee the chief engineering centre of these provinces, and have conferred on your town an importance which its size and position would not otherwise entitle you to claim for it. Roorkee is assured of a safe corner in my heart, because it was almost the first place where I made friends in India.

You describe the financial condition of your board as bad. I think that you are a little pessimistic. At the end of the last financial year you had a closing balance of over Rs. 12,000, and your income during the year more than sufficed to cover your expenditure. The margin was indeed small, but at any rate you have not been, like less fortunate or less principled places, living on your capital. At the same time, I recognize that you need a fair annual surplus to devote to the improvement of your town, and that your present sources of income are not capable of expansion. The terminal tax and toll which you desire to introduce would have the merit of correcting that defect, and you may be assured that your proposal is receiving careful and sympathetic consideration. But there are practical difficulties in the introduction of terminal taxation in small townships, and I cannot yet assure you that it will be possible to meet your wishes.

I regret that I cannot hold out much hope that the decision to deprive you of the supply of canal water to the Roorkee mill

MUNICIPAL BOARD OF ROORKEE

channel will be reconsidered. The sacrifice of water at Narora to satisfy Hindu religious sentiment means an appreciable decrease in the total amount available for distribution from the Ganges Canal during the spring harvest season. You will, I feel sure, recognize that my Government must seek in every way to diminish the loss which falls on agriculture. I will not go into close calculations, though figures have been placed before me. I do not think that even you who suffer by the decision will contend that the benefits which you have received from your past supply are at all of the same order as the loss caused thereby to agriculture. But you are perhaps inclined to take too gloomy a view of the position. I am informed that your turbine, which the mill channel supply has been used to drive, is worn out, and that you would in any case have to replace it in the near future. An electric motor will not be much more expensive than a new turbine, and I believe that you will find it more satisfactory.

I am glad to hear that you intend to utilize the electric power available at Bahadurabad. Your decision is certainly wise, and your application for a loan will receive favourable consideration.

HARDWAR UNION MUNICIPAL BOARD

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE BOARD,—When I decided to pay a short visit to Hardwar, it was with no intention of looking closely into municipal affairs, but rather of spending a leisured day here and affording my friend, Sir Edward Maclagan, a last opportunity of visiting this interesting place. But when your board kindly intimated its desire to approach me with an address of welcome, I was glad to accept their offer, taking it as an evidence of your desire to feel that Government was directly informed about your needs and difficulties. To any head of the Government of the United Provinces Hardwar must always be a matter of pride and interest, both in its aspect as a great religious centre and goal of pilgrimage, and also in its aspect as a birthplace of the great irrigation system of these provinces. These two aspects of your town may not always agree; but that both lend great human interest to your problems is undeniable.

To me, however, it is a matter of peculiar interest to stand here under this *shamiana* to-day, for I vividly remember being present at a somewhat similar, though larger, gathering, held possibly in this identical *shamiana*, when the Lieutenant-Governor of the day, Sir Antony MacDonnell, arrived to discuss with the *raises* and public of Hardwar the relaxation of plague arrangements which were bearing heavily upon the people. In those days Mr. Winter was your Collector and Mr. Austin Kendall your Joint Magistrate, and I recall also the names of various local worthies who are now dead. I say this by way of personal assurance that I take a natural interest in your fortunes.

Coming now to matters which particularly interest you, I have to remark that it is no longer the simple thing that it used to be for the head of a province to deal with requests like yours. Provided that money was available, a Lieutenant-Governor could sanction grants for local bodies on his own judgment, if he were persuaded of the strength of their case; but now, as you know,

HARDWAR UNION MUNICIPAL BOARD

we have a portfolio of local self-government, and appeals for assistance have to be considered by the responsible Minister and endorsed by the votes of the Legislative Council. Therefore, I must be restrained in anything I say. But I may safely say that the Government recognize the importance of keeping a large pilgrim centre like this in a healthy and well-found state. We are very anxious that on the occasion of your large religious fairs, disease should not be disseminated from Hardwar all over the country. Lying, as your chief town does, pent up narrowly between the hills and the river, it is more than ordinarily necessary to call in science to supplement the provisions of nature ; and I recognize that all your three schemes are in themselves highly desirable. Their aggregate cost is high ; but were money available, I should not myself say that twenty lakhs was too high a price to pay for making such a place as this immune against disease. Moreover, as there is electric power available at Bahadurabad, it seems a great pity not to take advantage of it for the lighting of this and adjacent places. For the moment, however, the financial outlook precludes us from finding any large sums of money for local purposes. I would not have you think that the position is desperate. In the Minister for Local Self-Government you have a Hindu gentleman of high position and local knowledge, whose regard for all things sacred to Hindu sentiments is well known. I am sure he will be disposed to consider with great sympathy any reasonable request.

As to the financial situation, I will merely say that, personally, I hope that we have passed the worst, and that, with adherence to economy and the development of some new forms of income, we may have easier times ahead. Certainly it will be a pleasure to me if before the *Kumbh* fair, three and a half years hence, something effective can be done.

CAWNPORE IMPROVEMENT TRUST

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE IMPROVEMENT TRUST,—In your address you have set forth with admirable lucidity the history, the difficulties, the needs and the aims of your enterprise. So thorough has your exposition been that you have left very little for me to say, and I hope you will be content if I make no lengthy reply. An examination of the circumstances of all such city Improvement Trusts is being made, but is not yet complete ; and till the results of that examination have been considered by my honourable colleague, the Minister in charge of Local Self-Government, it is impossible for me to tell you definitely what the policy of Government will be.

If I were to attempt here and now any forecast of the position in which you will find yourselves, say, a year hence, I might either depress you unduly or exalt you unduly—I do not know which. I desire to do neither. I shall confine myself, therefore, to attempting to describe the way in which I think that my Government are likely to look at your problems. My colleagues and I thoroughly appreciate the urgency of the needs which your commissioners of urban improvement have been created to meet, and which you have described so vividly. We understand the position which Cawnpore fills in the life of the province ; we appreciate the irregular manifestations of its hot-house growth ; we desire to give it light and space and air to enable it to attain a healthy and impressive maturity. All the more do I personally feel interested in your fortunes, because, as you have pointed out, the Trust owes its inception partly to the energies of Mr. H. G. S. Tyler, who was not merely a devoted servant of Cawnpore but also an old personal friend of my own. I know that the view has been expressed that it is not just to rural areas to use revenues derived from them for the purpose of ameliorating the conditions of our towns. That in my opinion is a short-sighted view. The importance of our large cities (we have more of them

CAWNPORE IMPROVEMENT TRUST

in the United Provinces than most provinces of India, and I am glad to say it because it testifies to a better economic balance) cannot be measured entirely by their contribution to the provincial revenues, or even to the provincial and central income combined. As in other lands, our cities are the centres of the intellectual, economic and political life of the country; their influence and example tend to radiate into, and to affect, every part of the community; and anything that conduces to their well-being reacts in some measure to the benefit of the rest of the province. Their welfare and healthy development are thus matters not of merely local, but of wider, moment. I am anxious not to overstate this argument, as I foresee that it may be used against me by every hungry municipality in the province. Older cities in the world than yours are realizing similar needs and pressing them quite successfully on older legislatures than that of the United Provinces. I agree with you, therefore, that expenditure on schemes like yours may eventually be trusted to yield an ample return. Further, I recognize that these projects cannot be entirely financed from your own urban resources; you have a legitimate claim to such assistance as it is possible for the provincial Government to give you. You, on your part, will recognize that the extent of such assistance is dependent on the condition of the provincial finances; and if you have followed, as you doubtless have, the debates in the last session of the Legislative Council, you are aware of the difficulties under which we are labouring. I honestly hope that there are some grounds for thinking that we are through the worst. But the fact remains that this year we have been able only by the most drastic economies to balance our revenue and expenditure, and if we are to continue to do so (and as business men you will agree with me that this is our first duty), there is nothing at present before us but adherence to a policy of austere economy. The lean years are upon us, as upon the rest of India, and indeed upon the world generally; and, for the time being, we must be content to go slow, and to postpone all expenditure that is not unavoidable. Our revenues have little capacity for expansion, and their normal growth is barely sufficient to cover such additional charges as we are compelled to meet. Whatever specific

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requests you may prefer for the conversion of your loans, or (it may be) for the temporary suspension of payment of interest on them, we will fairly and impartially consider ; but, to speak frankly, I can hold out to you no hope of large benefactions in the way of grants in the near or immediate future. All I can do is to assure you that we do appreciate the needs of your great city. We should certainly be reluctant to see your Trust close down its operations. Also we recognize and appreciate the fact that you, like we, are in earnest about economies ; and if and when our own finances improve, we will do what we possibly can to promote the beneficent work for which your organization was called into being, and which I am sure it has been fulfilling faithfully under serious difficulties.

CAWNPORE DISTRICT BOARD

GENTLEMEN,—

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I learn from your opening remarks that you realize the responsibilities which the recent District Boards Act has placed on your shoulders. In truth, they are heavy, but I would rather have you look on them as great **July 28, 1923** opportunities which you should be proud to enjoy. You are, in a manner, pioneers. The standard which you will set will influence all your successors. Remember the old saying—‘Well begun is half done’, and let your level be high from the very beginning.

I am glad to hear that your board is fully alive to the need for the expansion of education in rural areas, and that you are trying to solve the difficult problem of attracting to, and retaining in, your schools for a sufficient length of time the children of school-going age. In view of the increasing responsibilities which will fall upon the next generation the problem is a vital one. It is satisfactory that the board has been so successful in carrying out its programme for the construction of school buildings. As regards your request for further assistance, I fancy that you know our financial condition almost as well as we do. Generosity in the matter of grants is easy when the provincial purse is full. It is far from full at present. But any specific proposals which you may forward will at least be carefully examined.

I have heard with much satisfaction that the experiment of having a central school in place of some of the training classes for teachers has been successful. I congratulate you and the Director of Public Instruction, on the results so far achieved. I am sure that these will be of value to other district boards in the province.

I can understand your being dissatisfied with the limited extent to which you have been able to provide medical relief in the rural area. Eight dispensaries in an area of two thousand three hundred square miles, containing a population of nearly a million, is

CAWNPORE DISTRICT BOARD

not a generous allowance. As your resources are limited and as the Government cannot come to your assistance, I suggest that you should consider whether your dispensaries cannot be made self-supporting to a greater extent than at present. Few people will quarrel with the principle that free medical relief in public institutions should be provided only for those who cannot afford to pay for it ; but it is a principle which, in these provinces, has tended in practice to fall into neglect. I know that many people get free medical attendance in the dispensaries who could perfectly well afford to pay for treatment. The matter, I admit, is a difficult one, but I commend it to your attention. In some ways you are in a stronger position than your predecessors in approaching the question. Your desire that the municipal board should relieve you of a larger portion of the cost of maintaining the three dispensaries within the municipality is natural, and seems, so far as I am able to judge, to be well-founded. But as I am informed that correspondence is still in progress between my Government and yourselves, I will not pursue the subject further.

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Your summary of your financial position is courageous and your insistence on the observance of rigid economy entirely sound. We all of us could spend profitably far more than we possess, but we all must cut our coat according to our cloth. From that necessity there is no escape for any of us, and least of all for the Government. The development of the rural areas of the province is a matter in which I take a deep interest, and I should like to be able to hold out the hope that you may be assisted in your task by a larger contribution from my Government. But I honestly cannot do so. I fear that any future addition to your resources can only be the result of your own efforts. It is unfortunate that you should enter upon your heavy responsibilities at a time when money is so short ; but all the greater will be the credit if you succeed, as I am sure you will.

CAWNPORE MUNICIPAL BOARD

GENTLEMEN,—

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I must admit that you have presented me with some problems to which it is difficult to provide satisfactory answers. That does not mean that our meeting to-day is infructuous. It is certain that, after listening **July 28, 1923** to your forcible presentation of your difficulties, I shall take a keener interest in whatever proposals you place before Government. You are certainly right in speaking of your water-supply as your most urgent need. But if the gravity of the situation has not been appreciated, the failure cannot be said to rest with us. The Government have for some time been endeavouring to obtain your predecessors' proposals regarding financing the cost of improving it. We entirely recognize the urgency of the need. I hear gloomy accounts of your overtaxed machinery; and the appalling effects on such a city as yours of a complete breakdown can easily be imagined. I trust that, at all costs, that calamity will be averted. The Minister in charge of Local Self-Government informs me that he has personally inspected your water-works and conferred with Mr. Hoey and the irrigation engineer; and also that the draft of a new agreement, to be entered into between the irrigation department and your board for the supply of canal water, has already been drawn up. I understand that Mr. Ryan, chairman of your water-works sub-committee, attended the conference and approved of the draft. This may carry you on temporarily. But you will realize that it is not the proper function of the irrigation department to supply water for a big city; nor, indeed, as the papers laid before me show, is it an easy and simple thing for the canal engineers to do. Moreover, terms that strike a buyer as 'prohibitory' often appear otherwise to the seller, who is aware of the cost of production. The whole question is too complicated and has come before me too recently for me to attempt to deal with it categorically here.

CAWNPORE MUNICIPAL BOARD

But, speaking for myself personally, I see it in this way. It seems clear that your present engines need to be replaced by new and more powerful plant, and, whatever the difficulties arising from the movement of the river channel, the river seems the natural source, here as elsewhere, from which to obtain your water. That is the solution on which I would advise you to concentrate. I cannot advise you to expect the canal permanently to make good the deficiencies of your own system. I quite realize your natural reluctance to face the heavy expenditure involved. I know that your eyes are turned to Government for assistance. I can only say that I can see no practical prospect of your getting any grant. I do not know whether the Government would be able to give you a loan ; but that would certainly depend in no small measure upon the security that you can offer. Speaking for myself, I think that this great industrial centre ought without difficulty to be able to find security. I cannot really believe that a city of over 200,000 people, with great, flourishing and expanding industries, situated on the very banks of the most famous river of India, should confess that it is too poor to draw water from its current. The problem is eminently one of practical finance. I hope that the board will give it their very early attention. If they find themselves unable to frame a scheme, then I suggest that they appoint a committee, consisting of one or two members of the board, to go into details, in consultation with an equal number of representatives of the great industries of the city, who are also profoundly interested and whose business experience ought to be of great value in discussing a project of this magnitude.

In the next place you deal, gentlemen, with problems of public health, sanitation and drainage. In so far as these can be ameliorated by strict supervision, my Minister informs me that he will see that the Public Health department gives them due attention. But I ought not to pass by your suggestion that these also involve claims upon the Government. I admitted, in reply to an address from the Improvement Trust three days ago, that the extraordinary efforts necessary for the re-shaping of a large city were matters of provincial concern and might legitimately be helped from provincial funds. I must guard, however, against any overstraining of that proposition. The day has, I personally

CAWNPORE MUNICIPAL BOARD

think, probably gone by when the ordinary operations of conservancy and drainage in a city like yours can fairly be financed at the expense of the general taxpayer.

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You refer to the recent orders about the presentation of addresses by municipal boards. It is evident, from the criticisms that have been heard, that there has been some misunderstanding. In the first place, Government did not prohibit the presentation of addresses to anybody; it merely declared the line of action which it would itself be disposed to take if requests were made to it by boards to declare that expenditure which had been incurred on such purposes was legitimate. The decision cannot reasonably be described as an encroachment on the rights and liberties of local bodies, because it does not regulate the action of the boards. Secondly, it has been suggested that the orders were arbitrary in character. But so far from having been evolved hastily by an inconsiderate Government, they were based upon the spontaneous recommendation made by the standing advisory committee on local self-government of the United Provinces Legislative Council. Anyone who cares to ascertain the names of that committee will realize that they were not persons who would desire to curtail the liberties of local bodies. The recommendation of that committee was accepted in April last, as it stood, by the Governor acting with his Ministers. In view of the attention which their decision has attracted, the matter has, at the instance of the present Minister, been further considered. I am not one of those who hesitate to acknowledge when I think that an error has been committed. I think that in accepting the recommendation of the late committee we failed to realize that it was expressed too narrowly. There certainly are cases for which it does not provide and in which the Government would without hesitation sanction expenditure upon addresses. We have, therefore, issued modified directions to Commissioners. We have said that the guiding principle on which the Government feel bound to act, in making any such declaration as is required by the law in the case of this extraordinary expenditure, is that the public funds of local bodies must be used for purposes which can fairly be regarded as serving the interests of the local

CAWNPORE MUNICIPAL BOARD

ratepayers, and not for the furtherance of a political campaign. The Government has not restricted local bodies in the presentation of addresses. What it has done is to make known its views as to the principles by which it and its officers will be guided when asked to declare expenditure on such purposes appropriate charges on your funds. In accordance with those principles it will deal with every specific case on the merits.

I have detained you, gentlemen, longer perhaps than has been convenient. But the importance of the matters raised in your address must be my excuse. There is only one more thing that I should like to say. You have been called, by the vote of the ratepayers, to a very onerous and difficult office. You have not long been in power, and you have certainly succeeded to some troublesome legacies. All the more necessary is it that you should concentrate on improving your finances, realizing the importance of effecting economy wherever possible, and generally bracing up the administration. Criticisms have reached me from various quarters to the effect that the board has so far failed to keep pace with its work. Generous allowance must be made for the difficulties of a new body; but in the administration of a great city delays are more than usually dangerous. I earnestly counsel you to search out and remove whatever causes may be at work retarding your disposal of business. You may be sure that so long as you devote yourselves earnestly to the furtherance of the interest committed to your charge by the vote of your fellow-citizens, and strive to promote the wealth and happiness of this world-famous city, my Government will give you every help and support within their power.

MUNICIPAL BOARD OF GHAZIPUR

GENTLEMEN,—

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Gentlemen, your address closes on a note of gloom, which echoes sadly in my ears. Let me endeavour to mitigate it with one gleam of levity borrowed from the gazetteer. That authoritative, and on this occasion really helpful, volume refers to one of your most important and energetic institutions in the following terms. It says—‘The opium factory is situated here, to which are consigned the poppy products, opium leaf—and (this is my point)—the *trash* of all the districts in the United Provinces.’ That saying seems to me to be a little hard on our friend, Mr. Wild, and all his capable and efficient assistants. They will be justified in demanding that less equivocal phraseology be used in the next edition. But to speak seriously, I do not like to feel that you look on Ghazipur as a town of ruins and disease. Since first I saw it in 1897 I have thought of it as a sedate and picturesque place, with more than a touch of eighteenth-century Bengal about it: worn and shrunken if you like, but dignified with its old buildings, wide open spaces, and tall avenues along a splendid river, and that impressive monument which combines the memory of a great administrator with that of a great artist. The rush of modern traffic has certainly passed you by. But that has happened to hundreds of other places in the world, and many of them continue to lead a serene and a happy existence, even if they are not throbbing with industry or political importance. Even if Ghazipur can never regain its past vigour, I hope and believe that there is no reason why it should not be—indeed, I am sure that it is—the home of contented progressive citizens, bent on doing their best for their town and country.

ST. ANDREW'S COLLEGE, GORAKHPUR

MR. PRINCIPAL, MEMBERS OF THE STAFF AND STUDENTS OF ST. ANDREW'S COLLEGE,—I am very glad to come here and to

August 3, 1923 see this fine college building, which was opened in January, 1916, by my friend, Lord (then Sir James) Meston, when he was Lieutenant-Governor of these provinces. But of even greater interest to me—indeed, the dominant motive with me for making my visit to-day—is the fact that another of my friends, Dr. Garfield Williams, was so closely associated with the college. Though our acquaintance is only some six years old, I have known him play many parts during that time; but, whatever part he played, no man could possibly throw more energy and devotion into it. Time and time again I have admired his enthusiasm, singleness of purpose and the courage with which he attacked a difficulty or a mischief. I know how proud he was of the college and what a large place it held in his heart. It is a keen pleasure to me to come and see the actual monuments—material, intellectual and moral—of his labours in Gorakhpur.

You touch in your address upon the recent developments in educational policy and upon the weighty reasons which have led you to concentrate exclusively in future on pre-university education, and your desire to make this intermediate college a success. This is an object well worthy of your best efforts. You have made it clear that you reject that distorted view of education which looks upon an educational institution as a cramming mill or a degree factory. Your object, I gather from your address, is to train your students in the rights and responsibilities of enlightened citizenship. You desire that this institution should send out into the world young men, manly in bearing and outlook, and prepared to serve their country in an honest, upright, honourable way. Your endeavour is to draw out the best in your students through the personality of the teacher. For this you have excellent opportunities. The materials are there to your hands: a staff full of enthusiasm for its work, living in an atmosphere of self-sacrifice and devotion

ST. ANDREW'S COLLEGE, GORAKHPUR

to high ideals, and students fired by the living example of their teachers.

The C.M.S. will soon be completing one hundred years of notable work in this district. During these years great changes have come over the face of this country. Foremost among them is the spread of Western learning and ideas. In this, missionaries have played a distinguished and honourable part. On behalf of Government, I am glad to acknowledge the debt of gratitude which the province owes to the missionary pioneers of education, whom you, Mr. Principal, have named. Their work abides in the fine tradition which has sprung from it. I hope that whatever developments the future holds in store, that same tradition will be worthily maintained.

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I now turn to that part of your address which, though it appears last, is rightly first in your thoughts: I mean the pressing need for a science department in your college, if it is to succeed, or even to survive, in the competition with other places. Government will doubtless do what it can; but, as you know, we have not got much money and, moreover, these special grants have to be voted by the Legislative Council. It is for you, gentlemen, to see to it that your local member does his best to win support for so good a cause. Not only do you need a course in science in the economic interests of the college, but for the abstract sake of education too. The work done by students for themselves in the physical and chemical laboratories has a way of bringing home to them what may be called the rigidity of truth—the importance of close, patient, accurate observation and deduction—in a way that no purely literary study can ever inculcate, and in a more impressive and tangible manner than the abstractions of pure mathematics. I trust that your appeal for funds to the public-spirited citizens of this division will not be in vain. There could be no object more worthy of their support than the proper equipment of this admirable college on the scientific side. The presence here to-day of so large a body of the gentlemen of the division shows that they are proud of this college, and I am sure that they will show it in a practical form.

DISTRICT BOARD OF BASTI

GENTLEMEN,—

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You evidently feel that you are not doing enough for medical relief, and that your nine dispensaries are rather like tiny islands dotted about a great sea. I sympathize with your anxiety, but will not pursue the subject further, as your difficulties are not very different from those of every other district board. What is of more interest to me is your local public health scheme, which you have mentioned in the same breath as your arrangements for medical relief, and almost as if it were part of those arrangements. But I think there is at least as much difference between them as between keeping the stable-door locked and trying to chase the thief who has already got away on the stolen horse. We ought to hold on firmly to the fact that a high proportion of the ill-health, from which your district suffers, could be prevented if the right measures were taken. I am speaking not merely of epidemic diseases, such as plague and cholera, but of every kind of ill-health, down to quite petty ailments. I am advised that against every kind of sickness to which human flesh is heir, there is some effective measure of prevention, often of the simplest nature ; and the business of your health officers is either to apply these measures, or else to teach the villager to apply them. The education of the villager in the simple precautions which ordinarily will ensure health to everybody is probably the most promising of all the lines of endeavour open to them. They have a wide field before them and much of it is new, unbroken ground. The importance of the preservation of public health in our rural areas has always been recognized, but beyond the attempt to control actual epidemics, nothing practical was ever done until the local health schemes were started last year here and in Gorakhpur and Azamgarh. The necessary organization was lacking, and is now supplied for the first time in your health staff.

DISTRICT BOARD OF BASTI

Therein lies the present importance and interest of the scheme. It is a novel experiment, still in the earliest stage. Let no one call it a Utopian fancy. It seems to promise good results of value, and actual results once attained have a way of speaking loudly for themselves. But before the scheme can be extended to the rest of the province, it must be clearly demonstrated here that our expectations are well-founded. If, thanks to your care and encouragement, the scheme can be made a success in Basti, the whole province may eventually be your debtors.

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MUNICIPAL BOARD, ALMORA

GENTLEMEN,—It gives me great pleasure to meet you and to re-visit, after twenty-five years, your beautiful home, perched on this commanding ridge and looking out over deep valleys on either hand. This situation has, I know, some drawbacks, which you have explained. Still, I think, you will agree with me if I say that it also carries with it not a few compensations.

Your accounts of the origin and history of Almora have interested me greatly. You seem to have grappled successfully with the peculiar problems which must present themselves in the administration of a municipality so placed, far in the interior of the world's greatest mountain chain. I am told that your record will bear comparison with many municipalities of the province, and that you have managed to keep the incidence of taxation reasonably low. I congratulate you on the results which you have achieved with your modest resources, and particularly upon having avoided overstraining those resources in the process.

You have dealt at length with your need for an increased water-supply. Water is often a difficulty on an airy hill-top, but unfortunately mountain dwellers need it just as much as those who live in valleys. Yet I ought not to encourage you to hope that the solution lies in utilizing the energy which now runs to waste in the river flowing in the valley below us. I had better say at once that the scheme to obtain electric power and water from the Kosi, though it may have wandered about among committees as you say, has never been brought to my notice before, and that I express merely a personal opinion hastily formed. But I know that it is a very difficult matter to harness a stream which for many months remains a mere brook, and then in the rains swells to a huge, swirling torrent; and it may well be that the scheme would be more costly than you imagine. Moreover, you seem to me over-sanguine in thinking that the scheme could bring in a revenue equal to the whole of your present income.

MUNICIPAL BOARD, ALMORA

I doubt if that expectation would be realized. However, if you desire that the possibilities of the idea should be investigated by a Government engineer, your wisest plan will be to apply to the Superintending Engineer, Public Health department, for a forecast.

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Gentlemen, I accept with the greatest pleasure your loyal assurances. The Almora district did more than its share during the war, both in supplying recruits and otherwise, and you are justified in being proud of your district's record. I share your regret at the disbanding of one of the Kumaoni battalions and, indeed, did all that I could to avert its being disbanded.

DISTRICT BOARD, FARRUKHABAD

GENTLEMEN,—

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To take stock of the situation and to determine future requirements is the right course for every board which has just come into office. I appreciate your intentions, and if some of the observations, which I am about to make, seem to be of the nature of criticism, you will not infer that I intend to disparage the spirit in which you have approached your task. All that I wish is to offer you a little friendly advice. It would be rather dull if we always agreed, so that no interchange of views could take place on occasions such as this.

Like almost every district board in the province, you find that you could spend to good purpose a much larger income than you possess. In particular, you are dissatisfied with the arrangements which you have hitherto been able to make for medical relief. I will not enlarge upon the topic of the *sadr* dispensary. The questions to which this gives rise are already under consideration; and I hope that the differences involved can be happily accommodated. But, recognizing that the expansion of medical relief on the present lines is beyond your means, you propose to substitute a cheaper agency and to open a number of dispensaries, to be placed in charge of hakims and v aids. I am not going to enter upon a discussion of the relative merits of the Western and indigenous systems of medicine. For whatever views you and I take on that point, the wisdom of the step you contemplate seems to me personally doubtful on other grounds. The main weakness of Western medicine in India is the lack of a strong body of private practitioners. Western medicine was introduced by official agency and still is mainly in official hands, and, though we certainly cannot yet withdraw official support, I believe that the development of a strong private profession practising Western medicine is being hindered by the fact that so many of those who profess that

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system are in Government service. The position of the indigenous systems is very different. It is only very recently that a few indigenous medical institutions have received official support. As a general proposition it is still true that those systems are unofficial. They have in fact what Western medicine lacks, strong bodies of private practitioners, and therein they possess an advantage which must assist their welfare and healthy development if they are otherwise capable of it. Now if your scheme is carried into effect, will there not be danger of destroying, or at least of injuring, the private practice of the indigenous systems? I understand that you intend subsidizing a certain number of vaid and hakims, both by paying them salaries and by providing them with drugs at the taxpayers' cost. Will not these subsidized hakims and vaid lose the incentive of independence, and will not the remainder, whom you do not subsidize, be subjected to an unfair and undesirable competition which may ultimately eliminate them? You may tell me that your new dispensaries are intended only for the poor. But that is, and has always been, the intention in the case of all existing dispensaries; yet never in practice has it been possible to differentiate satisfactorily between those who are really poor and those who are not. Therefore, whatever may be your intentions, you may be certain that your new dispensaries will be attended by all classes, and not merely by those who really cannot afford to pay for treatment. Personally, I think that you will be wiser, if, instead of launching out into a scheme to cover the district with a network of indigenous dispensaries, a scheme which incidentally may well prove much more expensive than you imagine, you limit yourselves to an experiment with one or two such dispensaries. Observation of these will, in the course of a year or two, show you how far the apprehensions which I have expressed are justified. I ought to add that I have given you only my personal views, and that the 'well-considered scheme' of which you speak has not yet come before me.

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You are realizing that the new responsibilities with which you have been entrusted entail new burdens and difficulties. I can sympathize with you. I am not surprised, and certainly make no complaint, that you are disposed to seek the solution of them upon

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new lines. It may be that you will discover new and cheaper ways of doing successfully what your officially-directed predecessors attempted in their own way. If that happens the Government will be first to acknowledge it. Meantime, I can only suspend judgment and wish you well, asking you, while you look forward to a brighter future, not to be unmindful of the perhaps sober-coloured, but not wholly uncreative, past.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S VISIT TO ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY

YOUR EXCELLENCY,—On behalf of the University of Allahabad, I, as Chancellor, beg to accord a respectful welcome to the first Visitor of the University whom we have been privileged to see in our midst. **November 2, 1923**

Thirty-six years ago this University was established, with the motto which is still ours, '*Quot rami tot arbores*'. Its ideal has been throughout to minister to the intellectual needs of an ever-widening circle; and in no small measure it has lived up to its ideal, and it has justified its motto. It is the centre from which have radiated the younger sister universities of Benares, Aligarh and Lucknow. Its roots have struck across Rajputana, through Central India, right down to Berar; and it has served this vast area through a long period with a success of which we may be legitimately proud; and which, in parting company from us on the inauguration of their own University, the Central Provinces have generously acknowledged.

Our University has recently been reorganized. It is as yet too early to appraise the full value of changes and readjustments in the academic world, which this province has taken a leading share in effecting. We are still in a state of transition; and while we have the inspiration of long-cherished traditions, we have not wholly escaped from the dead weight of some old and antiquated beliefs. We have to build up new traditions; but in this task we are strengthened by the thought of the distinguished men who so devotedly served the University in days gone by, of many scholars whose learning reflects a glory on their *alma mater*, of the band of teachers whose lives have been an unfailing source of inspiration, of the daily stream of youths who preserve and refresh the vitality, the hopeful outlook, the eager vision, the passion for learning and scholarship, which are the true characteristics of a university.

Your Excellency, we are an institution which combines func-

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tions of the examining, and also of the teaching and unitary university. This dual character of ours helps us in our efforts to direct along right lines the higher education of an extensive territory ; but it also, inevitably perhaps, impedes the rapid growth of the infant teaching university to full maturity. Signs are not wanting to indicate that such a situation is attracting the earnest attention of the thinking public, but we desire to emphasize the wisdom of the old advice of hastening slowly. Like many other people, we need large funds. Many of our urgent schemes have had to be postponed for lack of means to carry them out. We fervently hope that the time is not far distant when we shall be able to develop such sides of our University as are at present starving, or not even in existence.

It has been a great privilege to us to greet the Viceroy and Governor-General of India ; we hope that it may be possible for Your Excellency to renew your visit to us. Our welcome will always be warm and heartfelt.

Having finished reading the address, Sir William Marris spoke as follows :

And now, Sir, if you will permit me, I wish to break away for one moment from the written word and speak one more thought that arises in my mind. During the past few days Your Excellency has seen various aspects of our provincial life. Some of those who have greeted you have, from force of circumstances, their eyes fixed upon departed greatness. Others have been men in the fulness of their strength, active in business or affairs, who are earnestly endeavouring to adjust themselves to changing conditions and to make the transition from the old to the new India orderly, assured and safe. I think it a good augury that Your Excellency's last public function during your present visit to the province should have enabled you to meet so many of the younger generation, whose gaze is bent upon the future, in whose hands will to a great extent lie the shaping of the destinies of their country, and whose capacity to shape them wisely will be so profoundly affected by the forces that go to mould them in a great centre of learning like this. Your Excellency has seen that the United Provinces has a fine historic past. I trust we

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have shown you that we are vigorous and active in the present, and, with a scene like this before your eyes, I am confident Your Excellency will carry away a hopeful vision of the future.

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MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—You may think that, in my anxiety to avoid touching on local educational or political questions, I have chosen rather a remote subject for my address. But I certainly would not have chosen it if I thought it of merely theoretical or academic interest. It is just over five years since the greatest war in history ended in the victory of the right cause. It is worth while dwelling on that result for a moment, because human nature is very apt to take gains and benefits for granted, and to dwell on losses and difficulties, and, once a peril is past, is very ready to forget it. That the world is still gravely troubled we all know: we all feel a sense of depression and disappointment that no millennium has dawned. Yet it is the victory, and not our present disillusionment that is immeasurably the bigger thing. It meant that justice was not dethroned in the world. Brute force did not succeed in crushing the nations into one servile mould. The right of the weaker to exist and to live their own lives was secured. These gains were purchased by stupendous effort at appalling price. There were times when the task seemed all but impossible, when it appeared as if the dykes must break and all that was lovely and beautiful in life be swept away in a deluge. That catastrophe did not occur; and we ought all to be still capable of intense gratitude for our deliverance from it.

Now, there have been very critical times before now in human history. Think of the Greeks at Salamis; think of the Spanish Armada; think of France in the first flush of the Revolution; or the Americans after Yorktown, or Britain after Waterloo. These were all instances of men fighting in some great cause, which at one time seemed almost hopeless and yet in the end was triumphant. Read the history of the days which succeeded such triumphant effort; and, whatever shadows darken parts of the

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picture, you cannot but see that men and nations were for some time, in the best sense of the word, 'above themselves'. They felt their powers in an unusual degree. They respected themselves more. The air was brisker, the sun was brighter, men trod the earth more lightly. There was a feeling abroad of untried possibilities, and a confidence that with effort nothing was impossible.

Why have we not that feeling now? The past peril was blacker, the past effort nobler than ever before. Human courage and endurance during the four years of war rose to a level of which we hardly thought it capable. Why has there been no brilliant and enthusiastic reaction? Why does the sense of exhilaration and confidence in the future of the world not follow? Why has there been no indication yet of a great literary efflorescence, or of great stirrings in philosophy or religion? Why are not men pressing on more vigorously to the conquest of the still unconquered tracts—of poverty, sickness, and class and race hatreds?

I can only offer one obvious reason: that, even after five years, we are still so near to the catastrophe as to be still stunned by the shock of it. We know that after the Napoleonic wars, side by side with a great flowering of thought and enterprise, there went a long period of high prices and acute economic distress. How much more must that be the case now, when the bottom has temporarily been knocked out of whole tracts of civilization? The destruction of capital, the load of debt, the incapacity to produce, the paralysis of trade, the instability of the exchanges, the incubus of unemployment—these are all the sequelæ of a grave world-sickness. We could feel happier about them if there were not reason to fear that the sickness itself were still persisting in the form of ill-will and suspicion between the nations.

This is not the occasion, nor certainly am I qualified to analyse the underlying causes of the world's discontents; to apportion responsibility, or to suggest remedies. Every rational man knows that the situation is very serious and that the remedial forces are still lamentably weak. I cannot think of anything that so well illustrates Walt Whitman's dogma—'It is provided in the essence of things that from any fruition of success, no

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matter what, shall come forth something to make a greater struggle necessary.' Civilization and justice have won the war ; they have yet to win the peace. Yet, personally, I cannot doubt that in that four years' holocaust there crackled and went up in smoke some weeds that will not cumber the earth again, and that the ashes of their burning have enriched the soil to bear a worthy harvest. For if that be not true, then it seems to follow that the whole world must be heading to final ruin. That, to me, is simply an unthinkable alternative. We are bound to assume as a principle of conduct that sanity and reason have not departed from the human mind. I think that the nations must set about healing their wounds and addressing themselves to a better future ; and once that happens, I believe that another period, such as followed on other world-crises, of growth and hope lies ahead ; indeed, that many of those here will see it dawn.

In that hope, then, I have been looking for the right sort of charge to lay upon those to whom the opportunity may come. It is a great thing at any time to be young. It ought to be a specially great thing to be young in India at the present time. To an audience like this there should be no need to preach the values of effort, energy and adventure. These things are instinct in the young generation. The future is for them, and they know it. They feel the sap rising in them that is to make the new leaves bud. Therefore, perhaps the word of greatest value which an older man can speak is a word of qualification. Strength, energy, vigour, determination ; yes, by all means and at all times. But if you are going to make anything of it, your effort must be ordered, directed, disciplined effort.

I believe it the greatest possible mistake to think, because the world of the last generation seems to have plunged into an abyss, that it has nothing of value for us, and that all its gods were false. Self-determination, self-realization, self-development are indeed a fine ideal. But they ought not to mean scrapping all the lessons of history, all the principles and values and standards which man has painfully hammered out since the Ice Age. They do not mean that each human being is to try and re-create the world for himself, so as to determine and realize and control his own destiny, irrespective of others. Nor do they mean

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that he is free to develop his lower qualities equally with his higher. The truth is all the other way. If the war has any lesson for us, it is that the world must draw closer ; that nations must regard each other's rights more closely ; and to that high temper no nation can rise which is not itself compacted of members who thoroughly understand and generously regard each other's rights.

Now, if I were only qualified to do so, I should try to reinforce the moral of the continuity of human thought and effort, and the doctrine that the past still holds immortal lessons for the present—from your own ancient literatures of the East. Unfortunately, I cannot do that. Perhaps your learned Vice-Chancellor may some time be moved to take up the subject. Failing it, I want to suggest the same conclusion by dwelling briefly on the abiding value of the ancient languages of the West to the present problems of the East. If anyone wants to realize how deeply the thought of Greece and Rome has sunk into the consciousness of England, I recommend him to read a very sad but very sincere record, namely, the memorial notices published in *The Times* of those who died for their country in the war. Nor is it strange that the English as a nation should feel kinship with the Greeks and Romans. We owe them nearly all the best we have in life. We are intellectually and politically their children. Our very form of government is no more than a development, on a larger scale, of the assemblies and magistracies of these little city states, a development which the invention of the device of electoral representation made possible ; and seeing that the first great step has been taken to shape India's constitution on similar lines, I do not think that what I shall say ought to sound entirely exotic or irrelevant. After all, my text is a very simple one: I can put it in two words—'Cohesion and discipline'. And I perhaps should add that I am not attempting to do more than touch the surface of a great subject ; and that readers of the old European classics will probably smile at the audacious familiarity of my exemplar passages.

First, let me read you what Shelley says of the great Athenian epoch: 'Never at any other period has so much energy, beauty and virtue been developed ; never was blind strength and

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stubborn form so disciplined and rendered subject to the will of men, or that will less repugnant to the dictates of the beautiful and true.' Beauty, you see, is the first note which he strikes, and I should like to linger over it and recall, for instance, how Sophocles describes the dewy meadows of Colonus, where crocus and narcissus bloom and the nightingale sings in the laurel thicket, the haven of deep peace where, in his old age, the sorely troubled Œdipus is brought to die. But I must not stray into sidepaths: our concern is with conduct and action. Take, first, one picture from Homer. Hector, one of the most heroic figures in all literature, is bidding farewell to his wife and his baby son before the battle. (There is a fine translation of the passage in Kingsley's *Hypatia*.) Hector knows that the cause is vain and that 'the day will come when only Troy must fall'; but he 'would blush—

To face the men and long-robed dames of Troy
If like a coward I should shun the battle.

That is exactly the spirit of the Spartans who fell holding the Pass of Thermopylæ against the overwhelming masses of the Persian invaders. Their epitaph is almost too well-known for quotation. Out of many noble epitaphs in the *Anthology*, I will take instead one by Simonides upon those who fell in defence of Tegea. Tegea was but a small town, and the very occasion that is commemorated is now unknown; it may have been only a small skirmish; but the poet's lines stand as an eternal monument to dead warriors:

If no smoke of burning to the skies ascended
From the streets of Tegea, 'twas by these men's might,
Who to leave their sons a city free and splendid,
Chose themselves to perish, foremost in the fight.

That is the Greek soldier patriot.

Next, when we think of mature Greek citizenship, two portraits come to mind. Socrates, the most resolute and independent thinker of the old world, has been put on trial for what we may call high treason. He had been unfaithful, his accusers said, to his country, in that he had tried to demoralize her youth and had refused to recognize her gods. He made the wonderful defence which Plato has given us in the *Apology*, and after sentence of

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death has been passed on him his last words to his judges are— 'And now 'tis time to be going, I to die and you to live: but which of us goes to the better state of things is known to nobody but God.' Then his friend Crito, who has bribed the jailor, comes to him and urges him to break prison and escape. Socrates will not do it. He could not face the reproaches of the personified Laws. The Laws have given him all the benefits of civilized life, and by making his home in Athens he has contracted to obey them. But to disobey them would be much more than a dishonourable breach of contract: it is State murder, a worse crime than matricide, because our country is far more to us than a mother. This from the very man whose daily work has been to preach, even to the point of importunity, the supreme obligation of self-study and self knowledge.

The second picture is from Thucydides. Pericles is delivering the funeral oration over the Athenians killed in the first year of the Peloponnesian War. Listen to what he says: 'Let us draw strength, not merely from twice-told arguments—how fair and noble a thing it is to show courage in battle—but from the busy spectacle of our great city's life as we have it before us day by day, falling in love with her as we see her, and remembering that all this greatness she owes to *men with the fighter's daring*, the wise man's understanding of his duty, and the good man's self-discipline in its performance—to men who, if they failed in any ordeal, disdained to deprive the city of their services, but sacrificed their lives as the best offerings on her behalf. So they gave their bodies to the commonwealth and received, each for his own memory, praise that will never die; and with it the grandest of all sepulchres, not that in which their mortal bones are laid, but a home in the minds of men, where their glory remains fresh to stir to speech or action as the occasion comes by. For the whole earth is the sepulchre of famous men; and their story is not graven only on stone over their native earth, but lives on far away, without visible symbol, woven into the stuff of other men's lives.' Surely there speaks for all time the true spirit of citizenship; the identification of the individual with the whole, and the recognition that the one must lose himself in the many.

Another characteristic of Greek life, not without its value in

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these times of intellectual distraction, is the clarity and balance of their thought. They had both eyes open, and did not overlook good and beauty because they were able to see evil. There is a fine epitaph on a drowned sailor; fine, because it is also a message of courage:

Here wrecked I lie, yet, sailor, get thee gone;
When we went down, the other ships sailed on.

‘Know thyself’—that is, realize your strength and weakness—was the rule of life laid down by one of their most famous sages. They tried to get behind words to realities. They endeavoured to see life steadily and see it whole, as Matthew Arnold says of one of their poets. And another of their precepts was ‘No excess.’ Exuberance, exaggeration, over-statement, verbosity—these things were hateful to them. They sought to put things in their right perspective and proportion. Much of the writing and talking on public matters to-day throughout the world (especially perhaps at election time), which seeks to sway the less critical people by violence and sensationalism of language, would have struck them as foolish and unconvincing. One of their favourite words was ‘sophron’—temperate, chaste, moderate, restrained. All these seem to us dull, colourless words; but with the Greeks ‘sophrosyne’ was an active, living quality and implied the perfect balance of reason and emotion. The dying wife Alcestis adopts it as her highest praise, when she says to her husband that he may perhaps find a second wife more fortunate than she has been, but not more ‘sophron’.

But it is time to pass on to the Romans. Not merely was Rome a great commonwealth whose history was full of courage and of romance, but to this day she exercises, through her language and laws, her system of administration and her general culture, an enduring influence upon the world. The Romans were dour, practical, and in some ways unlovely, people. What they most enjoyed was action, and what they judged by was results. Take Lucan’s line on Cæsar:

Nil actum reputans, dum quid superesset agendum.

‘Thinking nothing has been done, so long as anything remained to be done.’ There you have the ruthless purpose and the restless energy of the man who perhaps deserved better than Brutus to be

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called the 'noblest Roman of them all'. Through much of Latin literature there runs a note of hardness. Virgil's sonorous lines which celebrate Rome's imposition of peace upon a subject world fall in these days on somewhat unresponsive ears; and yet the same poet who wrote them was capable of expressing the pathos of human life in lines that for their wistful appeal have never been surpassed:

Sunt hic etiam sua praemia laudi
Sunt lacrimae rerum mentemque mortalia tangunt.

The words are untranslatable, but perhaps James Rhoades' version comes nearest:

Even here too honour hath its meed,
And there are tears for what befalls, and hearts
Touched by the chances of mortality.

But this was not the Roman's normal mood. What he admired was a figure like that of Cleopatra, disdaining to be led in triumph to Rome, and preferring to let the asp bite her and so die. You remember how Shakespeare makes her say:

Let's do it after the high Roman fashion
And make death proud to take us.

We get the same note in two comments on Cato's suicide: 'Everything on earth subdued save Cato's stubborn soul' are the words of Horace; and Lucan writes:

Victrix causa deis placuit, sed victa Catoni

'The gods preferred the winning side, Cato the losing one.' Another typical figure is that of Regulus, the Roman general, captured by the Carthaginians and sent back on parole to Rome, in the hope that he would persuade his countrymen to make a dishonourable peace. Horace never wrote anything more sincere and powerful than the verses which describe how—'with counsel such as man never gave before'—Regulus urges the Senate to fight on till the end; and then, knowing well that he will die a death of agonizing torture when he reaches Carthage, breaks through the crowd of friends and relatives who try to detain him, and sets out to meet his end as calmly as if he were a tired lawyer going off on his vacation holiday.

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The Roman was never greater than in adversity. The temper of the people braced itself to the emergency. When Hannibal had invaded Italy and had beaten the Romans in a second battle, the news was broken to the citizens in a simple phrase—‘We have been defeated in a great battle’. The magistrates knew that the fibre of the people was strong enough to stand the shock. Again, when they put their fortunes to the test a third time, and yet a third time the war genius of Hannibal triumphed, and practically the whole military strength of Rome was destroyed at Cannæ, there was no panic or outburst of popular passion; instead of the blundering general who had brought the catastrophe on them being lynched, the Senate met and passed a vote of thanks to him—‘Because he had not despaired of the republic’. Again and again this note of serenity in danger is struck. I could easily weary you with more quotations; but Kipling has put the essence of the matter on the lips of the young Roman soldier serving in Britain when he speaks of ‘Rome’s thrice-hammered hardihood in arduous things’.

Equanimity, serenity, fortitude, toughness, self-control—these were the typical Roman virtues. In Henley’s phrase—‘Their head was bloody, but unbowed’. Whether you like them or not, who can refuse admiration to a people who could say with such a high measure of truth:

We are the masters of our fate;
We are the captains of our soul.

The chief legacy of Rome to the modern world seems to me that summed up in the Duke of Wellington’s saying—‘The King’s Government *must* be carried on.’ Order, security, law, justice—these are the very pillars of the state, and citizens and magistrates together must see that they are made secure through any storm. And in the domain of private conduct the moral is much the same. Temper yourself, discipline yourself; be strong to resist the stress when it comes, as come it surely will. ‘What’, says Juvenal, ‘is a man to pray for? Many men pray for material blessings; but they are foolish to do so, for the gods know the best. A man is dearer to the gods than he is to himself, and it is best to leave it to them, and to let them weigh out, as from a

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balance, the things that they know will be useful.' 'But we *must* pray for something.' 'Pray, then, for a sound mind in a sound body. Ask for a stout heart that has no fear of death, a heart that reckons the last lap of life among the gifts of nature, a heart that is strong to bear any toil, that is not easily provoked, that is without desire. A mind that reckons the sorrows and harsh toils of Hercules a thing more to be sought after than the lust and gluttony and feather-beds of an Assyrian king.' Then he concludes :

Monstro quod ipse tibi possis dare : semita certe
Tranquillae per virtutem patet unica vitae.
Nullum numen habes, si sit prudentia : nos te,
Nos facimus, Fortuna, deam coeloque locamus.

That is to say—'I only show what you can give yourself. The one pathway to the tranquil life lies through the field of manliness. If you have prudence, you can do without a deity. 'Tis we, we men, who make thee a goddess, Fortune, and seat thee in the sky.' And with that typical utterance of the mind of Rome I will conclude. 'The fate of empires', says Aristotle, 'depends on the education of youth.' Rarely, I suppose, has that pregnant sentence been of greater significance than in India at the present time. I pray that in this institution of learning, of which I have the honour to be Chancellor, there may be pursued such a system of education, that in the hands of those whom it sends forth to the task, may be left safely the future destinies of this great and ancient land.

POLICE CEREMONIAL PARADE, MORADABAD

OFFICERS AND MEN OF THE UNITED PROVINCES POLICE TRAINING SCHOOL,—I recall how six years ago I had the honour of attending a similar ceremonial parade to this one, upon this same parade ground, when I was your Inspector-General. You can imagine what pleasure it gives me, therefore, to come to you again to-day as head of the province. I remember how I was impressed on that occasion with the smartness and steadiness of the force on parade. I am glad to be able to congratulate you again to-day upon the way in which you have maintained the same standard.

December 7, 1923 Your force has recently lost some officers of great ability and experience ; but changes of this kind are inevitable in an official service. I congratulate you, indeed I congratulate myself and my Government, on the fact that you have now as Inspector-General an officer like Mr. Ashdown, who, in the past, as Principal of the Police Training School, has done so much solid, earnest work to improve the efficiency of the force, a force whose interest, as I well know, he has deeply at heart, and whose efficiency he and the picked officers who are his deputy inspectors-general will do everything they can to maintain and promote.

We all know how the police come in for a vast amount of vilification and abuse. I have often thought over the matter ; and of this I am persuaded, that as time goes on there is less and less justification for it. It has become a tradition ; but traditions will wither if they get no soil to feed on, and we must give them less and less. I thought it very significant that the other day when a picked detachment of the police of these provinces, after months of unremitting endurance and activity, delivered a whole countryside from the terror that had for a long time beset it, by the capture of some desperate and notorious dacoit leaders, how the people turned out to express their gratitude

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and delight. That was a much juster estimate of the ordinary man's feelings towards the police than the conventional language of many public utterances. I bid you, therefore, to be of good heart, and to believe that public opinion will veer round more and more in your favour. It lies with you, especially it lies with the rank and file and the sub-inspectors of police, to accelerate that process. I bid you to be honest and considerate and patient, remembering that you are servants of the public and that the exercise of your duties must do them as little inconvenience or mischief as possible. But I bid you also to be fearless in the discharge of your duties. Believe that the Government trusts you and you can rely on its support when you are unfairly and unjustly attacked. I know that I speak for my honourable colleague, the Home Member, when I say this. There is still a great work before you. I am not sure that the task is not heavier than I have ever known it; but I know that if you feel you can rely on the sympathy and support of Government, the Government can confidently call upon you, if necessary, for even greater efforts.

POLICE DINNER, MORADABAD

MR. ASHDOWN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE INDIAN POLICE,—

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I think I knew, even before the Inspector-General made it clear to me, that in coming to Moradabad I was coming among friends. The year and a half during which I **December 7, 1923** had the honour to be Inspector-General of Police will always stand out distinctly among my memories of a varied service. Certainly no Inspector-General could have desired a more generous reception. You took it that whatever mistakes I might and did make, I meant to do my best for the force without fear or favour; and you gave me exactly the same help and backing as you would have given to a member of your own service. Well, I simply ask you to do the same for the Governor as you did for the Inspector-General. Government, as you know, is not quite the simple business that it was of old. We have the Finance Committee and we have the Legislative Council. Various forces exert themselves upon us, and as my friend, the Raja of Mahmudabad (whom we are delighted to see here to-night) will tell you, they have all to be considered. But all the same, I ask you to believe that I have not lost my interest in the police, and I am sure, speaking for myself and my honourable colleague, that the Government will always do their best to get fair play for them.

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I congratulate you on this very successful week. It was a sound idea to bring isolated officers together for exchange of views and renewal of friendships. I am sure you feel that you have profited by the discussions and conference of the week. I hope to hear more about them. I do not want to talk officially; but it would be absurd for me not to refer to one matter which, of course, has been in your minds. Serious crime has increased to an extent which I think no self-respecting Government can allow to continue. We are hardly giving the people in some

POLICE DINNER, MORADABAD

places that measure of the *pax Britannica* of which we boast, and which they are entitled to ask of us. I do not believe this is inevitable. I do know something of the difficulties. But I believe that, by resolute, intelligent and concentrated effort, we can get the figures down with a rush. I call upon you to do it. How exactly it is to be done Mr. Ashdown and his expert advisers will consider. Mr. Young and his men have already made a fine beginning. But I want to give you definite marching orders. I have thought over this thing and I speak deliberately. Bring down the figures for dacoities, particularly for armed dacoities, to one-half; and then I will say to you—'Well done, and now get them down to one-quarter.' Tell me what co-operation and assistance you need from other sources, and I will do my best to obtain it for you.

CEREMONIAL PARADE, COLVIN TALUQDARS' SCHOOL, LUCKNOW

MR. REES, MASTERS AND BOYS OF THE COLVIN TALUQDARS' SCHOOL,—I am glad to have the opportunity of being present this morning and of witnessing this simple but inspiring ceremony, which speaks to us of unselfish devotion to high ideals. Your school has a special character of its own. Many of its students are the bearers of great names, famous in the history of this province, and are the inheritors of large possessions and great wealth. When they leave the school the main problem that they will have to face will be not how to make a living, but how to live. Possibly that sounds to some of you the easier problem of the two. I think that it is really much the more difficult. I think it is a simpler thing to compete with other imperfect human beings in the struggle for existence than to strive against the baser tendencies of one's own character. Undoubtedly, one of the most important functions that this school can discharge is to teach its pupils the wise use of leisure and the right use of wealth. You boys are now being wisely trained here to endure bodily fatigue and to be capable of mental exertion; but unless you take good heed, there is a danger that when you are freed from the discipline and routine of your present daily tasks, you may be tempted to succumb to a life of idleness. Of some such it has been vividly said that they 'kill their time by tearing along roads at perilous speed, or do nothing at enormous expense'. You must not be of their number. You must keep your body and mind in good condition by healthy and regular exercise. When you go out into the world after finishing your studies here, there are plenty of worthy objects to which you can devote the training, the discipline, and the habits of corporate life which you have acquired in this school. Every day the field of activity offered to you in public affairs, local, provincial and imperial, is widening, and you can, if you choose, find rich opportunities of

COLVIN TALUQDARS' SCHOOL, LUCKNOW

serving your country and filling a distinguished part. And for the ordered balance of the various interests of this province, it is essential that a due proportion of you should be capable and willing to do so. Others of you will find your natural outcome in the management of large estates. The spirit of give-and-take which you have learned here should make you considerate to your tenants, and ready to realize that your highest duty lies in promoting the happiness of the countryside. I say to you, in all seriousness, that in these changing days it will not be enough for you merely to hold what you have received from your forefathers. You have to improve and develop your inheritance. Immense national tasks lie before the country, and it is for you, the young men who go forth from the Colvin School, to make a contribution to these tasks worthy of your high lineage.

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DINNER OF THE CAWNPORE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

GENTLEMEN,—I am grateful to you all for your kind hospitality to-night, to your Chairman for the generosity of his language, and for the friendly manner in which you have received his reference to me.

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Cawnpore is, of course, a place which no Governor or Government of the United Provinces is the least likely to undervalue. It is the provincial power house; the industrial centre of gravity of the province, a place that generates more horse-power and employs more thousands of workmen than all our seven other cities put together. I see that rumours have reached you, gentlemen, about two other cities which are not entirely agreed as to which of them is the real capital of the province. One relies on its historical title-deeds and its legal, academic and religious pre-eminence; the other on its central position, its wealth and social attractions, its parliamentary activities and the fact that, whether of accident or design, it has, under a succession of Governors, won itself a comfortable place in the sun. I am not here to adjudicate on such claims. I merely mention them as the cause of occasional embarrassment to the Governor, who, in coming to Cawnpore, at all events feels that he is temporarily reposing in a city which, secure in its own solid pre-eminence, can, as you say, afford to smile at the less substantial emulations of other places.

You, Sir, mentioned Hamirpur as my official starting place in India. I am sure that you (or your clerk) looked up the History of Services of Gazetted Officers before you did so. You will realize that the last point upon the margin of civilization from which I went forth by Munna Lal's *dak gari* to that wilderness was Cawnpore. Here it was that I took the opportunity of securing some of the material necessities of life in India. . . . I remember three red Cawnpore blankets which, on the sound advice of Mr. Faunthorpe, then Joint Magistrate, I purchased. I

CAWNPORE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

am sure you will exonerate me from the suspicion of desiring to advertise any particular firm, when I testify to the excellent service those red blankets have since rendered.

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There was a moment later on when I was designated for the Collectorship of Cawnpore, and I actually came here in expectation of assuming charge from the friend of many of us, Mr. Tyler. But for the fact that different orders followed, I might to-night be speaking to you with far more intimate knowledge of your needs and problems. But of the great interest which my Government take in the well-being of your city you need feel no doubt. Three of us are here to testify to that. Do not think that we look upon Cawnpore merely as with the fond eyes of a dairyman regarding his prize milch-cow. We value your city as a great fount of energy and production; we admire the pioneer enterprise and applied skill that has called your massive industries into being; we acknowledge with pride the enormous effort you made in supplying material for the war; we remember gratefully the way in which Cawnpore has responded to any appeal made to it for financial support for a worthy cause. Indeed, one such cause finds embodiment in the fine hall, inaugurated seven years ago by Sir James Meston, where we are met to-night. But perhaps more than all we value what Cawnpore is doing to demonstrate silently to an agricultural India what can be done in the industrial field by practical men intent on practical results.

I come now to the matters raised directly in your Chairman's speech. I agree with you entirely in holding that Government, capital, and labour must all face the altered conditions of the world's trade intelligently. The Indian labourer, of course, is ignorant, and some of his advisers may not be very sagacious. I have heard something about their activities to-day. They would do well to take a lesson from countries where labour is more strongly organized, and intensely alive to its own true interests. The example set by labour men at home in accepting very heavy reductions in their wage returns, simply because they realize that the trades cannot longer afford to pay boom rates, is not without its lesson for the Indian labourer.

CAWNPORE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

About the condition of your municipal water-works I spoke in July last to your city fathers in fairly emphatic terms. Since then we have, as you say, arrived at a working arrangement with the canals; but unsolved the question of distribution and extension still remains. The engineers' scheme is ready, and my Government are perfectly ready also to give the municipality a loan. I agree with you that the situation is serious and that delay is unwise. Not only are the benevolent operations of the Improvement Trust held up, but the health and industrial activities of the whole city are in some jeopardy. But before Government can take matters drastically into their own hands, it must be perfectly clear that the properly constituted local authority has failed in its duty. Now your Chamber can, if it chooses, do a great deal to arouse interest in this question and to stimulate the board to take action. It is for your representatives on the board to raise the question there and to thrust it to a definite issue; and if you are dissatisfied with the result, then come to us and make it plain to us that the margin of safety has been passed and the time for action has unmistakably come.

As for the operations of the Improvement Trust itself, all I can say to you is that for the present the Chairman expressed himself as satisfied with the provisions which we have made, and that for the future I am sure that we shall not agree to anything like false economy. We cannot stoke you up with fuel for full steam ahead; but we must find the means of going on with all schemes, the stoppage of which would be a positive loss.

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I suggest that the most unfortunate result of the political earthquake at home is that it leaves no responsible government in sight which is likely to make a decisive contribution to the crucial problems of foreign affairs; and yet it is in the distractions of Central and Eastern Europe that the root cause lies of much of our own difficulty. I sincerely trust that the hope, expressed by your Chairman, that the tide has begun to turn, has some solid justification. After all, in these matters, gentlemen, you and we, industrialists and Government together, are very much in the same boat. You and India as a whole have plenty of goods to trade, and what you want is customers. We, for our

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part, cannot hope for any great development of our inelastic provincial resources, and for further progress on the large scale which we all desire, we must look to a reduction of our very heavy contribution to the central exchequer. But the Government of India—Sir Malcolm Hailey is here to assure you if you doubt it—have also their own troubles. They cannot afford to accept such reduction unless their own revenues expand, and they depend very largely on the prosperity of trade, which affects both their customs income and their railway earnings. The return of prosperity in trade depends on the improvement of the conditions in Europe. So the wheel comes full circle. I say, therefore, that we and you have equally strong reasons for praying that a sense of sanity may prevail in international affairs, and that the nations may soon begin to work together for the healing of the wounds of the world.

Gentlemen, it is almost a year since I assumed office. My Government have had their difficulties, and I have no sort of doubt that your Chairman was right in prognosticating that there are plenty more to come; but, looking round in all directions, I feel that there are some reasons for thankfulness. I think the feeling in the villages is better. I am sure that the financial position of the province is perceptibly brighter. Very likely these things have happened in spite of the Government, and not because of it. I am not out for claiming credit in the least. But one thing I should like to say, and that is that we—I and my colleagues—are grateful for the generous measure of support which we have had from many quarters. We mean to do our best to keep the province secure and contented, and to administer its affairs with justice to all and with partiality to none. As you know, we have just passed a definite landmark on the roadway of reforms, marked by the demise of the first of the reformed provincial councils. The elections to the new councils are just concluded. It may seem a rather sensational development that their ranks should be so largely filled by those who are pledged to use the opportunity of entrance for the purpose of wrecking the existing order of government. And yet I think there are some advantages even in that result. The issue between us and our opponents is clarified. They intend to undo; we are resolved to

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maintain. His Excellency the Viceroy, in two recent utterances, has made the intentions of his Government so plain that all who run may read; and local Governments are grateful for his guidance. As for our own provincial Council, I will only say that I think we may be more fortunate than some of our neighbours. I have every confidence that the new body will play its part worthily. I know that my Government look forward to meeting it without misgiving and without alarm. And I take this opportunity of announcing that as soon as the elections were over my two Ministers, Raja Parmanand and the Nawab of Chhatari, in accordance with constitutional practice, placed their resignations in my hands; and also that, after consideration of the electoral results, I had great pleasure in inviting them both to reassume office. I am happy to tell you they have both consented; and I am very glad that the Minister for Industries, the Nawab Sahib of Chhatari, is present among us to-night. I should have asked you, if your applause had not already done so, to give him a friendly welcome on his reassuming charge of his portfolio.

I have only one more point to make. It is a mild attempt to turn the tables. I know, gentlemen, that those of you who represent the Chamber in the local Legislative Council are busy men who find it difficult to give much time to parliamentary duties; and yet in your own interest I ask you to take a long view, and to realize the importance of sharing increasingly and regularly in provincial business. If it be true that the British official is likely to become a gradually decreasing factor in the government of the country, all the more necessary is it that the representatives of British industries in India should be forward in public affairs; and that not merely for the purpose of protecting their own particular interests, but of bringing to the counsels of the country the right quota of British opinion and British way of thought, which are perhaps more likely to be acceptable to Indian opinion if they proceed not from any official governing class, but from men who are obviously out to advance the wealth and prosperity of India, and who have worked side by side in that great cause with Indian business-men. I am sure that you

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realize that the proceedings of the provincial Council are bound to grow in seriousness and reality, and that the time has gone by when any interest, however momentous, can afford to look on them as an occupation of secondary importance. I am convinced that the more regularly and resolutely your representatives can play their part in our Council proceedings, the better will it be for the future of these enormous interests which mean so much, not merely to you and to your shareholders, but to India also.

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ZAMINDARS' ASSOCIATION OF THE GHAZIABAD TAHSIL

MEMBERS OF THE ZAMINDARS' ASSOCIATION OF THE GHAZIABAD TAHSIL,—I feel that I do not come here entirely as a stranger, for I toured in your tahsil with Mr. Gillan twenty-five years ago, when he was settlement officer of the Meerut district. I have seen many of your villages and know something of the productivity of your soil.

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I have heard with satisfaction the expression of your loyalty to the King-Emperor contained in your address. These expressions are no mere lip service, as has been proved by the record of your district, and your tahsil, during the great war. On the proud position attained by your district among the other districts of the province, and by your tahsil among the other tahsils of your district, I congratulate you.

You have referred in picturesque language to the situation of this, the headquarters town of your tahsil—on the royal road to Delhi; it has become one of the main gates to the imperial city, within the enclave of which some of your villages were included; and it has grown continuously in importance since, a short two hundred years ago, it was founded by Wazir Ghaziuddin. Those were leisured days; we now live in a busier and more hustling age, and it is a matter of regret to me that considerations of time have made it impossible for me to spend longer in your town.

I have seen enough, however, in passing through the country, and in my brief stay here, to recognize how peculiarly happy is the situation of your tahsil. There must be few areas more fortunate in the matter of communications. No less than three railways centre on your town, and these, fed in turn by an adequate system of roads, give a ready means of export for your produce (which the two great canals and their distributaries secure to you), and access to the great markets of Delhi and Meerut. And yet little more than a hundred years ago, when Colonel Ochterlony, the Resident at Delhi, requested your Collector to send 50,000

GHAZIABAD TAHSIL ZAMINDARS' ASSOCIATION

maunds of wheat to relieve distress in Delhi, the communications were so bad that it was almost impossible to send in any grain at all. Here again the times have changed.

But perhaps the most welcome change of all—and here you will understand that I speak generally of the change from the times when such sentiments were much less general than I hope they have become to-day—perhaps the most welcome change is that you should be able to include in your address the passage which I will venture to re-read to you :

‘With just pride, we may say that we might style ourselves the representatives of the tenantry also. For not only is there no conflict of interests or estranged relations between us and the tenantry, but, on the contrary, our interests have always been identical, and it is a refreshing pleasure to note that, whatever dissensions might have happened elsewhere between the two classes, we have always stood shoulder to shoulder in a common cause.’

In these words you touch the secret of the principle which should govern the relations of all who have interest in the land ; and that you should be able to claim that the relation between yourselves and the tenants is such as you have described is a matter of most justifiable pride. Without a stable, prosperous and contented tenantry no estate can prosper, still less can any agricultural country prosper, for the peasantry forms its backbone. Legislation cannot secure this. It is only by the recognition that the relationship of landlord and tenant implies mutual duties, and the avoidance of the perpetual insistence on rights—real or imaginary—that this end can be secured. Legislation may define rights, but the remedy of the law courts is intended to be invoked only when the resources of give-and-take and mutual good-will have been exhausted. Nothing is so destructive of good relations as litigation. If only people would talk over their disputes together, quietly and with good-will, before embarking on litigation, they would save themselves much harassment and expense, which often leave them nothing to show for it all but a man with a grievance. You have referred to your immunity from troubles which occurred elsewhere ; and it is instructive to note that nowhere did evilly-disposed persons and fomentors of trouble find a

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readier hearing than in some village where past litigation had left a legacy of friction. On the good relations subsisting in your tahsil among these two great classes, proprietors and tenants, you are most heartily to be congratulated, and the fact that, as I understand, many proprietors among you are themselves employed in cultivation must contribute to this happy result. It only remains for you to see that no outside influence may be allowed to sow dissension among you, which may disturb the harmony of your relations with each other, or change your sentiments to my Government. Should troubles ever recur, I feel that I may rely on you to do your utmost to prevent such a possibility.

The year 1923 is drawing to its close, I had hoped to add, in all respects happily. But yesterday I received with great regret the sad news of the death of my trusted and valued colleague, Raja Parmanand. He is a great loss to my Government and he is a great loss also to those agricultural interests which you represent. I know that you will share my sorrow at his unexpected and most regrettable death. But for this shadow we are ending the year happily with tranquillity, and with prospects of increasing prosperity in the coming year. For the coming year, members of the Zamindars' Association of the Ghaziabad tahsil, I wish peace and prosperity to you and to all whom you represent; to secure the fulfilment of the wish, I would add a second wish—may the relations of all of you, of whatever degree, who are concerned with the land show an ever-increasing harmony and good-will and cordiality.

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ALL-INDIA MUHAMMADAN EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE, ALIGARH

GENTLEMEN OF THE CENTRAL STANDING COMMITTEE OF
THE ALL-INDIA MUHAMMADAN EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE,—

There are many business gatherings taking place
in India during these Christmas holidays. There
are not many others besides this one which would

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have lured me away from camp. But I did feel bound to accept
your kind invitation to be present here, because on many grounds
the cause which this conference represents makes a powerful
appeal to me.

In the first place, your educational conferences are part and
parcel of that movement for the uplifting and advancement of
your fellow-religionists, of which this Muslim university stands
forth as the most famous and conspicuous sign. In these
precincts many eloquent tributes have been paid to the genius
and character of the late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, that broad-
minded and far-sighted leader, who had the vision to look into
the mists of the future, and the courage to withstand the opposi-
tion and obloquy of more short-sighted and conservative
contemporaries, before his indomitable energy and enthusiasm
won the battle of higher education for Muslims. When
the history of modern India is written, his name will always have
a secure and honoured place. And this educational conference is
not merely a tribute to his memory, but an effective and much-
needed means of carrying forward his work.

I do not want to talk politics; and I should be false to my
principles if I said one word which could be construed as
encouraging the strength of communal feeling. But two things
I do want to say. I believe that the real importance of education
as an essential element in India's political growth has never
received candid and adequate recognition. There were those
who from the beginning tried to plead that an immense develop-
ment of education throughout the country should be thought ou

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carefully, financed solidly, and securely launched, simultaneously with the political changes initiated five years ago ; that two sets of separate foundations, as it were, and not merely one, should be well and truly laid together. Personally, I believe that that was the right policy. It may or it may not have been practical politics. At all events, in the pressure of the moment such views got but short hearing ; and education on the grand scale, instead of being deliberately treated as one of the essentials for political growth, was given a few benedictions and kind words, and left by the arbiters of our destinies to the changes and chances of the future.

But if education on an enlarged scale, an expanded and improved and humanized education, is necessary to the sound political growth of the people of India as a whole, still more necessary must it be to those who, from one cause or another, find themselves in the position of a minority. I wish to guard against any suggestion that I imagine that the ultimate division of opinion in India will follow communal lines. There are some signs that that may not be the case. But it is certain that the abandonment of the communal position and of communal action can only come in proportion as the weaker communities feel that they can afford to do without it. Into that process other factors will enter, and among them will be the rate at which the dominant majorities learn tolerance and respect for the feelings of the minority ; but at least one potent factor will be the growth of education and enlightenment, and thereby of political capacity, among the minority communities themselves. I know this, that if I were at the present moment either a Muslim or an Anglo-Indian or an Indian Christian, or a member of the depressed classes, I should feel strongly that political sagacity pointed to putting every ounce of energy I could into improving the education of my own people. That is exactly what Sir Syed Ahmad saw. Among some sections of your people in India the vision which he beheld has, I think, become temporarily obscured. As a result of the alarms and excursions in the Muslim world during the past ten or eleven years, the breath of popular excitement has dimmed the mirror. It is because I recognize in this Muslim educational conference an attempt to wipe the glass

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clear, and to hold up to the Muslim world of India a true beacon-light, that I welcome its rehabilitation, and I earnestly wish it all success. All the more readily and unreservedly do I say so after learning that the exhibition has not been organized on a strict sectarian basis, and that many Hindu teachers and educationists are sharing in and benefiting by it.

The other reason why I am glad to be here lies in the intrinsic interest of the exhibition itself. I know that I am trenching upon a subject of which I am less qualified to speak than many members of the conference. As the President has told us, this exhibition is an attempt to bring together some of the results of the experiments and investigations which educational thinkers have made in connection with the whole great subject. Some of us are prone to fall into the error that the education of the child is, or ought to be, an easy natural process, as natural perhaps as ensuring that it gets fresh air and good food and that its limbs and muscles develop with sufficient healthy exercise. Perhaps that easy opinion is derived partly from the feeling—probably a mistaken feeling—that nobody ever cared very anxiously and thought very closely over our own education. They may have done so, but we were not aware of it. At all events, most of us are a little inclined to believe in our hearts that we are all born educators. It seems as if the process of education was simply passing on to the rising generation the accumulated experience of our own. But if we are rash enough to try and put our beliefs in practice, we soon realise that there is much more in it than that. A child's mind is not like a man's, and the ideas and the very language which come naturally to the man fail to convey their message to the child. And since education on a large scale must be a collective process, all the differences between child and child come also into play. A teacher on the one hand has to find a sort of highest common multiple of their intelligence, and at the same time he has to be perceptive and sympathetic with all the pupils who do not conform to the average on which he is working. A further complexity is provided in a country like India by the immense variations between class and class and the diversities of language that present themselves, from the lower classes of the preliminary

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school up to the courses for a university degree. It is obvious, therefore, that the art of successful education (for an art I believe it to be, and not a science) is a skilled and delicate one. And an exhibition like this, which attempts to bring together the results attained by those who have thought most deeply over its problems and processes, is a valuable and welcome contribution to a great cause. I have seen it myself with much interest and I could have wished for more time to study some of its exhibits. I am sure that I express the sentiment of all my hearers when I say that it is to the enthusiasm and devotion of Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan that we owe the privilege of witnessing it. So far as I know, this is a new move in the sphere of education in India, and we all, Government and educationists alike, are indebted to him for the trouble he has taken. I ought also to say a word of gratitude to the various firms or institutions which have helped him with the gift or loan of exhibits.

There is only one more thing, gentlemen, that I have to say—and it is a word of sorrow. I knew, when I was thinking over what I should say to you, that illness would prevent my honourable colleague, Raja Parmanand, from being at my side to-day. I could not foresee, and I had no fears, that his illness would have a fatal termination. He is a great loss to me and to the Government and to the province. In this educational gathering it is right that I should speak this word of regret and respect for my late Minister of Education.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF THE UNITED PROVINCES

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF THE UNITED PROVINCES,—I have come here to welcome you cordially to the work lying before you, which will, I trust, be of abiding benefit to the interests of this great province. January 9, 1924

We have lost not a few of those who were outstanding personalities in the last Council. Some of these casualties have resulted from the ordinary vicissitudes of political life. We may hope that some old members of the Council, who are not with us now, may yet hereafter, here or elsewhere, play their part again in their country's affairs. I am thinking in particular of my two former Ministers, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani and Pandit Jagat Narayan, gentlemen whose ability and devotion to duty I have good reason to know and to admire. And together with them it is right that I pay a word of tribute to the late Deputy President of this Council, Rai Bahadur Anand Sarup. I have it on the best authority that he discharged the onerous duties of the presidential chair with dignity, firmness and impartiality—the three ideal attributes of a parliamentary president; and, without incurring any suspicion of reflecting on whatever gentleman may be elected to succeed him, I may say that in these respects the Council cannot but be the poorer for his absence.

But, gentlemen, this new Council meets to-day under a sadder sense of loss. One of the first members returned to it, returned without opposition, a tribute to the respect in which he was universally held, has been removed by death from among us, a very few days after he had re-accepted office as Minister of Education in my Government. This Council will, if it sees fit—and I sincerely hope it will—record in proper terms its respect for the memory of the late Raja Parmanand. But for me—who was his colleague, who knew his deep and sincere love for his country, his desire to do right and to deal justly,

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and to live on terms of peace and amity with all men—it is right that I should express here openly before you my grief at losing not merely a senior and valued adviser, but a personal friend. He died in harness, as he would have wished. There is some reason to fear that his end may have been accelerated by sheer devotion to the cause he stood for. None of us can hope to end better or more happily than that. Honour and peace to the memory of a worthy gentleman whom the province can ill afford to lose!

I have no new policy to expound to you. The aim of my Government will be in future, as it has been in the past, to maintain the stability of a great province and to promote the happiness of its people. With that aim, it is our hope to proceed, as soon as may be, with agrarian legislation, designed to remove outstanding grievances of both landlord and tenant, and to demonstrate the reality of the proposition, so often affirmed in speeches, that the interests of the landed and agricultural classes, who form the great industry upon which this province depends, are not diverse or opposed, but essentially one.

I am sure that I speak for my whole Government when I say that we welcome to this council the advent of a new element unrepresented in its predecessors. We are not going to take too much account of everything that may have been said all over the country either before or at election time, because a very slight acquaintance with the working of representative institutions all over the world compels one to the somewhat cynical conclusion that not everything that is said in party manifestos and electoral speeches is really meant to be pressed home. We as a Government will look rather to actions than to words. We are bound to assume that those who sought and obtained entrance to the Council, and have taken the oath of allegiance in so doing, have all equally, without distinction, done so because they recognize the fact of its existence and mean to serve it loyally to further the end for which it is devised. But to those members who are new to the Council I will say this: The Government and the older members have had three years' experience of the working of the new constitution as it has been pursued and developed by the first reformed Council. No intelligent and honest man who has had

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that actual experience can possibly fail to realize the progress which was made. He knows that the reforms have been a reality and no sham. He knows that the influence of the Legislative Council has steadily strengthened and extended. Our hope is that members of the new Council will speedily come to realize the same truth, and will realize also that if the business of the country continues to be carried on in a reasonable and constitutional manner, there is nothing whatever to prevent further progress on the same safe lines. Rightly or wrongly, therefore, but in any case optimistically, Mr. President and gentlemen, my Government will face this new legislative body on the assumption that all its members by their presence here recognize that the path to self-government lies along the constitutional track which has been laid down. We believe that the car which carries the fortunes of the State can only move on solid, well-laid rails; that it will be upset if it attempts to plunge into the jungle. The line prescribed for us is the only line to which we as a Government can consistently with our orders adhere. We are called in our positions to play the game according to certain definite rules. We claim that we have attempted to be faithful to our orders, and we intend to be so in the future. We make an equal claim for the services and officers, European and Indian, under our orders. They, too, have striven loyally under great difficulty to work the new order of things according to the course laid down for them. Whatever may happen elsewhere, whatever may have been said outside this Council, we trust that the new body which has acceded to the high trust confided to it will show the same sense of responsibility, the same parliamentary capacity, for using its powers constitutionally for the safe and sound advancement of the province as its predecessor did.

In some respects I am happy to think that we set out with good auspices. The first Council under the reformed scheme started in a time of stress and strain. I do not wish to revive any unhappy controversies; but it is in the memory of all of us how in 1920-21 India, like the rest of the world, was still heaving in the after-swell and confusion of the war, and how perturbation and excitement swelled to its apex with results that stunned all sane and sober minds. But the wave crest has rolled

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by, and now we are happily in a period of comparative peace, confidence and tranquillity, which it is our earnest desire to maintain. Nor is that condition merely the result of reaction and lassitude from fever and overstrain. To some extent that may be true of the villages ; but among thinking men it is due also to the perception that much has palpably been accomplished in the direction of giving effect to Indian wishes. The new constitution has proved fruitful in results. Old-standing grievances have been remedied and adjustments, some of them overdue, have been made. My friends the Muslims know that their particular aspirations have been met, not merely with anxious consideration but also with substantial satisfaction. The economic condition of the province is better ; the immediate agricultural outlook is excellent ; and, although I must not anticipate what my honourable colleague, the Finance Member, will shortly have to tell you, I believe that our provincial finances are now in a sounder condition than they were a year ago. These are aspects, therefore, in which we are entitled to congratulate ourselves on our comparative good fortune. We do start in some respects from a position of advantage which some of our neighbours lack. I know that a strong spirit of provincial patriotism animates the members of this Council ; and when I speak of members of this Council, I speak of them all, without distinction. I trust they know also that exactly the same spirit animates the Government and its officers. We also belong to, and we also are proud of, the province whose salt we have eaten. We also are anxious to do nothing to belittle it or lower its dignity among the provinces of India. The extent to which we can succeed in doing so will lie very largely in the hands of this new Council. I ask its members, one and all, to remember this.

Mr. President and gentlemen, I have now to announce to you that Rai Rajeshwar Bali, one of the representatives elected by the taluqdars of Oudh, has accepted my invitation to assume office as Minister in the place of the late Raja Parmanand.

Gentlemen, I will now take leave of you, with the earnest wish that your deliberations may be directed with wisdom to the promotion of the interests which we all, without exception, have at heart.

BANQUET AT RAMPUR

YOUR HIGHNESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I thank Your Highness for the warm welcome you have given me here, and for the more than generous terms in which you have proposed my health. January 16, 1924

The high traditions of loyalty and courage, which have always characterized the House of Rampur, have been acknowledged so often by Viceroys and Governors that I feel it almost superfluous for me to attempt to add anything to what they have said. The friendly co-operation of the princes of this Rohilla State with the British Government dates from nearly one hundred and fifty years ago, when Your Highness' ancestor offered his cavalry to the British who were then at war with France, a power whom we hope never to fight again. In the mutiny Your Highness' great-grandfather stood staunchly by the Raj at great personal risk, and, to use Lord Canning's words, 'effected the safety and provided for the comfort of a multitude of Her Majesty's Christian subjects at a time when danger most pressed them'. The Rampur troops were again placed at the disposal of Government for the Mohmand campaign. During the great war we all know how all the resources of the State were put at the King-Emperor's disposal. Your Highness contributed liberally to every generous cause. Besides sharing in the provision of the hospital ship *Loyalty*, and besides contributing munificently to all the various relief funds, you provided a convalescent home for officers at Naini Tal. Your troops fought gallantly for three years in East Africa, and then garrisoned Madras in 1919 during the third Afghan War. I have heard from Your Highness' own lips an assurance that in certain contingencies you would yourself accompany your men to the field and send your sons after you.

Ladies and Gentlemen, that is a record which speaks for itself. The Government have good reason to be grateful for such well-proved friendship and acknowledge their obligation with pride. And in peace no less than in war Your Highness has stood by us and helped us. By pressure where it was needed, by persuasion

BANQUET AT RAMPUR

where persuasion was likely to be effective, and largely by your personal example and attitude, you have exerted your great influence on the side of peace and stability and against the forces of disorder. You have shown yourself ready to take decisive action, when needed, regardless of what detractors might say. I gratefully endorse all that my predecessor said a little more than a year ago upon this subject. Your shrewd advice and your unstinted support—given with the sympathy of one who himself carries heavy responsibilities, and yet with the measure of detachment that is so helpful in contributing a fresh element to sound conclusions—have been always, and I know will continue to be, of the greatest value to any Governor of the United Provinces in the difficult situations with which he is from time to time confronted. Anyone who knows Your Highness at all knows this one thing about you, that when your friendship is given it is given without stint or wavering. I acknowledge such friendship very gratefully.

Your Highness, we are all glad to think that this gathering has occurred at a time fraught with such happiness to the House of Rampur. It is a great thing to feel that with the birth of your first grandson in the male line the succession to the State is secured for two generations. We all wish health and a long and happy life to the small son of Your Highness' Heir-Apparent ; we know with what solicitude and affection you will watch over his physical and moral upbringing ; and we pray, and we are sure, that the boy will grow up to inherit the staunch characteristics of his grandfather and his grandfather's forbears, and to continue the fine tradition of loyalty and vigour which has been the heritage of this old Rohilla State.

I have touched upon the services of the State and its ruling House. I would like to say one word about the character of the Ruler. We respect Your Highness not merely as a great Muhammadan prince, but as a man to whom the faith and culture of Islam are sincerely dear. I have to-day had the pleasure of admiring for the second time the treasures of your famous library. Not only are you a distinguished patron of literature, art and music, but also, like your distinguished grandfather, an accomplished scholar and poet ; and, as to-night's princely entertain-

BANQUET AT RAMPUR

ment of us all bears witness, you have the princely characteristic of generous and eager hospitality. As His Excellency the Viceroy well said a year ago, the arrangements which you make for the comfort of your guests have been marked by the personal touch of solicitude and interest which is the essence of true hospitality. In the name of all your guests, I thank Your Highness for a splendid entertainment.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to join with me in drinking to the health and happiness of His Highness the Nawab of Rampur, our generous and illustrious host, and to the prosperity of his line and people.

MEMORIAL TO THE POLICEMEN MURDERED ON FEBRUARY 4, 1922, AT CHAURI CHAURA

MR. ASHDOWN AND OFFICERS AND MEN OF THE UNITED PROVINCES POLICE; AND GENTLEMEN OF THE RELIEF FUND COMMITTEE,—I speak to you under a heavy sense of responsibility. Anyone standing in my place **February 6, 1924** to-day must realize that words uttered at Chauri Chaura will be read further afield. Two years ago—almost to a day—the name of this little known, this very peaceful-looking place suddenly became invested throughout India, indeed beyond India, with a hideous notoriety. As I recall the tragedy enacted here, I feel that it would be easy to make it the text of a political sermon, easy to emphasize in strong language the responsibility of those persons who, in the name of high-sounding causes, stirred up an ignorant and inflammable peasantry to deeds of barbarism. But I do not purpose to dwell on that aspect of the affair. There is no need, I think, for me to say to-day the things that it would have been my plain duty to say had I been speaking in 1922. You, gentlemen of the Relief Fund Committee, have, in your address, laid sufficient emphasis on the main lesson of the tragedy to make it unnecessary for me to do so. I trust that everybody, without exception, has sufficiently accepted that conclusion already. We are all surely wiser than we were. Chauri Chaura showed us all—as in a flash of lightning—what may happen if once the foundations of law and order are sufficiently loosened. For one bad moment it was as though the solid earth had opened under our feet, and we looked through into unimagined subterranean fires of passion and inhumanity. We suddenly realized what the condition of these fair provinces might be if such things occurred all over them. Let me remind you that within the memory of a few old men still living, the greater portion of the United Provinces—the province of Agra and the province of Oudh—actually saw what it meant to be without a government. That generation

CHAURI CHAURA : POLICE MEMORIAL

looked upon anarchy revealed. It was not only the foreigner or the official who suffered. But once the forces of disorder were loosed, all the bad characters, all the broken men, all those who had private grudges to avenge, all those who felt strong enough and ruthless enough to do so, turned on the weak, and looted and tormented them. That is two generations ago, and still a few old people can remember it. I know we have had many blue books recording in complacent language—language natural to times of unsensational laborious effort—the material and moral progress gradually achieved since 1857. But it remains as true as ever it did that stability and security—abstract words which only mean that inoffensive men and women and children are allowed to live their lives in peace and happiness—depend essentially not on railways and telegraphs, colleges and hospitals, but on the minds and temper of men. That is the moral writ large by Chauri Chaura for all of us to read. It is a very easy thing to trouble the minds of the masses; but the reckless man who does so is playing with a mighty fire. For God's sake let us have no more of that in the United Provinces. In this respect let our name be our motto also. Whatever our political views, widely as we may differ as to methods of government, let us agree, let us be united in this, that no real lover of peaceful India can possibly wish to see her advance along such a bloodstained path as the one that was trodden in this place two years ago. At least, let this monument be a call to every man among us to withstand that.

I pass from the gloomy to the brighter side of the story. We are here this morning to commemorate the devotion of ordinary, modest, inconspicuous, brave men who tried to do their duty and gave their lives in the task. They were like many privates and non-commissioned officers in the great war. They found themselves in a position of great difficulty and danger, and they did not shrink from their duty. Their death is an example to their comrades, and it is right that we honour their memory. I am proud to come here to help to do it. I am proud also to hear that so much money has been raised by the people of the province for the immediate relief of the dependents of the murdered policemen, and to provide scholarships for their

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children's education. I thank all those, non-official or official, whose efforts have contributed to so good a cause.

The cenotaph which I am about to unveil bears a medallion on which appears the motto chosen by His Majesty the King-Emperor Edward VII for the inscription for the King's Police Medal which he instituted. The words are, 'To guard my people'. Those words fittingly express the prime duty of every police officer. They are the servants of the public, employed in the public interests to protect the lives and property of the public—their own countrymen. In some quarters there is a tendency to talk about the police as if they were an expensive and unnecessary excrescence on the natural body of the State. I hope it is not mere pedantry to remind such critics that the apparently dissimilar terms 'police' and 'politicians' are in origin and in essence one: that is to say, they equally go back to the ancient conception of a 'polity', a settled civic existence. But whereas the politician is a secondary product created by the polity, the police, as indeed their name shows, were thought of as identified with the very polity itself: the existence of a police force to ensure order was assumed to be an essential condition of all political life; a condition without which, as Chauri Chaura shows us, there would speedily be no politics and no politicians at all. In some countries this idea is quite well realized. In England the police are popular as the guardians of the public and protectors of the poor and oppressed. Whenever there is a special call upon the police people come forward readily and enrol themselves as special constables. In Australia, too, when there was a police strike, the man in the street rushed into the breach to take his place. I hope that we can see the beginnings of such a feeling in this country. You know how several of the northern districts expressed their gratitude to the police for delivering them from the long and bitter oppression of the Bhanu dacoits. I have been told also that many of the subscriptions paid by private individuals to the relief fund were really made a thank-offering for police protection afforded them at the time of the agrarian disturbances in 1921-22. This affords hope that in the not distant future the public in India will come to realize that the police are the natural protectors, not only in cases of oppres-

CHAURI CHAURA : POLICE MEMORIAL

sion, but in the many difficulties which beset the daily life of the inhabitants of all countries.

There is one thing more that I feel bound to say. The news of this tragedy spread not only consternation, but very keen and very natural resentment throughout the ranks of the police in India. I call it most significant of the toleration and the sympathy of the police with the people that, in spite of the immense provocation received, neither in the country at large nor close by in Gorakhpur itself, has there been a single instance in which reprisals were taken by the police for the barbarities committed on this spot. Does not that speak well for the discipline and the temper of the force ?

As future years go by, let us hope that this memorial will not only stand as an enduring testimony to those who lost their lives in the performance of their duty at the hands of a maddened mob, but that it will come to evoke astonishment in all who see it, that any body of Indians, however impelled, could have turned on a force whom all will then have learned to look upon as their trusted guardians and protectors. For when that happens, we can hail a growth of civic spirit, a sense of the overriding and imperative claims of the common weal, the dawnings of which we still discern only dimly to-day.

Now to the memory of brave men, and in the hope that their devotion to their country may inspire us all, I unveil this monument.

BANQUET AT BALRAMPUR

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I have to give you one more toast—the health and happiness of the young Maharaja of Balrampur, in whose honour we are here assembled and whose
February 10, 1924 hospitality we are enjoying.

Of the size and wealth of the Balrampur estate I need say little. Its area and population are equal to those of a district, and it is no exaggeration to say that to hundreds of thousands of people and to Government it is a matter of the highest importance that the Raj should prosper and be well administered. Kunwar Jasbir Singh has our good wishes in his onerous and responsible charge.

In the past the owners of this great estate have set a high standard. At a critical time Sir Digbijai Singh stood firm for the British Government against threats and inducements alike, and at a later stage in the history of this province he and Sir Man Singh, Maharaja of Ajodhya, represented the interests of the taluqdars in the long discussion which shaped the first revenue law of Oudh. The late Maharaja Bahadur, who was known to me for twenty-five years, was distinguished by his sincerity and generous liberality. He was known even longer and more intimately to my old friend, Mr. Burn, the Member of the Board of Revenue in charge of the Court of Wards, on whose great experience and kindly sympathy the Government will always rely in their dealings with Court of Wards estates. We both feel a strong personal interest in the welfare of this princely estate and of its young heir. Whatever we can do to prosper the estate and its tenantry and the moral upbringing of its future owner will be done. The rest lies beyond our hands. To-morrow's ceremony will mark another stage in the life of our host. In the hope that he may live to possess the high qualities of his ancestors and to add fresh lustre to the name of the Raj, I ask you to drink to the health, long life and happiness of the minor Maharaja of Balrampur.

BAR ASSOCIATION, BULANDSHAHR

GENTLEMEN OF THE BULANDSHAHR BAR ASSOCIATION,—I am greatly pleased to come here to-day for the formal opening of your new court. I congratulate you on having your long-cherished desire for a separate judgeship here brought to complete fruition in the equipment of your district with a fine and commodious civil court—a building which reflects great credit both on its designer and those who executed the work. It was in truth no very easy matter for Government to provide the three and a quarter lakhs which the project has cost, and I value your words of appreciation that we made a special effort to do so.

February 12, 1924

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As you probably know, I am not a lawyer and I have also to confess that I have never been a judge. So that it would be an extravagance on my part to attempt to speak to you on your own peculiar topics. But this I may say, that in these days, when nothing on the executive side of government is immune from scrutiny and overhauling, it is of interest to a mere executive officer to observe that investigation and inquiry are approaching even the sacred precincts of the law. One committee is sitting to determine whether the organization of your profession is as perfect as it should be ; and another committee, more adventurous still, is about to explore the field which I think Hamlet for the first time called by the dark name of 'the law's delay'. Suicide, if you remember, was the only means of escape from it which Hamlet could envisage. But we will hope that Mr. Justice Rankin's Committee may find a less drastic solution.

To speak seriously, gentlemen, I hope you agree with me that the interests of the Government and the judiciary are essentially one. We are all servants of the public ; we all desire to do our duty and to promote the happiness of the people. Here in Bulandshahr there are special reasons why your standards should be kept high. It is an area of great wealth and prosperity—with what I

BAR ASSOCIATION, BULANDSHAHR

may call a high capacity for civil litigation. The population also are relatively skilled in knowledge of their rights. I remember it being said to me years ago that 'even the Chamars know the law'. And, secondly, it is an area in which serious crime may at any time be heavy, for which reason the sword of Justice should be kept as polished as her scales. I am sure that the Bench and Bar of this relatively young judgship will feel it a point of honour with them to win it a high place among the judicial centres of the province.

CO-OPERATIVE BANK, DEHRA DUN

GENTLEMEN,—I am very glad to come here and do what I can to help a good cause like this, which after two previous setbacks seems at last on the fair way to success.

March 7, 1924

Whoever drafted your address is a whole-hearted believer in the potency of the co-operative movement for good. I am sure that that is the right creed. The difficulties in the way of arousing the villager to a greater belief in himself and in the possibilities of his development are apparent. The pioneer co-operator is confronted by a great deal of ignorance, indifference and conservatism hard to overcome. It is wise, therefore, to go into action with a fine confidence that success is well worth the effort. I agree with a leading article which appeared opportunely enough in the *Pioneer* to-day. We give too narrow an aim to the movement if we regard it as seeking merely to provide cheaper credit for the agriculturist, and to rescue him from the toils of the usurer, who is often the cause of so much misery and economic distress. Let me read to you the wider view which the Registrar of the Co-operative Movement in the Punjab takes of his duties. Mr. Calvert states that the object which he and his colleagues have in view is the examination of the whole economic structure of the province, the study of the defects retarding economic progress and the discovery of factors which contribute to the comparatively low standard of prosperity. Having made these investigations, the aim is to devise schemes of rectification and amelioration. Thus: 'The mere reduction of indebtedness and the provision of cheap credit are not our objects; what we do aim at is the provision of sound, well-controlled credit for productive purposes, and the replacement of unproductive debt by productive borrowing. We would gladly see the debt of every co-operator doubled if the capital were invested in a source of profit and benefit to the borrower; cheap credit is only important inasmuch as many possible investments, such as in wells, land improvements, redemption of mortgages and the like, are only productive if the necessary capital can be obtained at a low rate

CO-OPERATIVE BANK, DEHRA DUN

of interest.' Personally, I believe this to be a true saying. In short, the successful economic reconstruction of the province can be most surely secured by co-operation, and the co-operation will not be all of one pattern: the causes of poverty are varied, the measures taken to cope with it must vary in their design if they are to succeed. That is why there are many types of co-operative effort, from the central banks and the primary societies downwards. One such link in the chain is being forged to-day by the institution of this district bank which I am about to open. I trust that its inauguration will give a great impetus to the movement and that the gain which you, gentlemen, hope for not only to the income, but also to the character and capacity of the people of the Dehra Dun district, will be liberally attained.

The Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Sheikh Maqbul Husain Sahib, is, I am glad to see, here to-day. He will be ready to afford you any technical advice that you may need and his experience may suggest. I will not attempt to deal to-day with technicalities. I will only emphasize one fact—that the movement is primarily a rural one. It may have its counterparts in the shape of urban societies and labour unions, for the same impulse can take many forms. But we are met together to-day primarily in the interests of the villager, the tiller of the soil, the man who, as you say justly, produces most of the wealth and the man-power of India. We have to work for him, and through him. I put it to you that if we are to succeed, earnest and sustained voluntary effort on the part of non-official workers is necessary. We want to see these societies run by the villagers themselves under the eyes of those who are naturally in touch with them and understand their needs. I see that the Punjab makes a point of it that the staff of the Co-operative department itself are drawn almost entirely from the cultivating classes, 'so that they are regarded not as officials, but as friends as they move about the countryside'. There seems to me force in that observation, and I will ask the Minister in charge of Agriculture to give me his views upon the matter. But what I ask you all to bear in mind is the great extent to which your assistance, the assistance of non-official gentlemen interested in

CO-OPERATIVE BANK, DEHRA DUN

the land and the cultivation, can promote the good cause. I am very glad to learn from Mr. Ross that such willing assistance has been forthcoming.

LA MARTINIÈRE COLLEGE, LUCKNOW

MR. WEIR, MISS CHICK, GOVERNORS OF LA MARTINIÈRE COLLEGE AND STAFF AND STUDENTS OF THE COLLEGE,—

March 12, 1924 Rather more than a year ago I came here and spoke to you. From the point of view of the province, I am very glad to think that we can look back on the time that has passed since then without dissatisfaction. In times when money is short we cannot expect resounding achievements; we may well be content with the fact that we have escaped misfortune and had a period of tranquillity to allow of a certain amount of normal growth taking place. I gather that this College also has had a similar experience. You have had an uneventful year except for the floods, but there is every reason to believe that both your schools and scholars alike have gone on in steady growth.

I am glad to hear that the enrolment at the Boys' Martinière is satisfactory, and that the College has now been recognized up to the Intermediate examination. Your Cambridge examination results might have been better. The autumn floods afforded a striking test of the capacity of staff and students to rise to a very disagreeable if not actually a dangerous emergency, and I congratulate both on the spirit in which it was encountered. The difficulty in obtaining employment for the lads leaving school reflects, I fear, the existing depression in trade. It is, I realize, a very serious difficulty. There are, however, some hopes of a revival in business which may make it easier to find openings; and every boy who goes out from here with the Martinière stamp upon him and makes good does something to help his fellows to do the same.

I will not comment in detail on the report of the Lady Principal, beyond saying that if the pressure of the accommodation at the Girls' School is causing difficulty, it is at least matter for satisfaction that this proceeds from a record enrolment. The governors, I am sure, are giving the question their best consideration.

LA MARTINIÈRE COLLEGE, LUCKNOW

I have had occasion to pay various informal visits to La Martinière during this cold weather, in company with His Excellency the Viceroy and other distinguished guests. I think that nearly all of them have been impressed by the same two outstanding facts. The first is that you boys of La Martinière are fortunate in your inheritance of this stately building, on which has been so strongly imprinted the character of its remarkable founder. Not only do you have before you in this massive pile an expression of General Claude Martin's indomitable energy and his grand manner, but in the ornament which he lavished upon its interior you have a wealth of delicate Italian decoration, refreshingly rare in the east, which must be of great value in training your eyes to appreciation, even if unconscious, of beauty in colour and design. The other circumstance in my mind is that fifty boys of this College were privileged sixty-seven years ago to take part in the immortal defence of the Residency, where they played their part like men, and have in so doing bequeathed to this College the legacy of an imperishable tradition of discipline and courage. One of the last survivors of them was buried a year ago in the Residency cemetery. How great the value of that tradition must be to a school like this even the most unimaginative of men must see.

It is no easy task, as you must realize, for an older man to find anything fresh to say to those who are still at school. His instinct is to go back to the time when he himself listened to such addresses with something like a feeling of impatience; and he wonders if the gap between speaker and audience of which he was conscious then may not have widened since, now that he finds himself on the other side of it. But he comes back inevitably, I think, to the old truths, which he remembers as addressed to him a generation ago, and feels that their importance must excuse their lack of novelty.

School remains, and always will remain, a preparation for the work of life. Your problems, your struggles, your successes and defeats are a rehearsal and a training for bigger things to come. The more you learn of concentration, of combination for the general good, of self-subordination, of generosity to a competitor, of modesty in victory and of self-control in defeat, the more will

LA MARTINIÈRE COLLEGE, LUCKNOW

these qualities help you when you encounter similar things on the larger scale. No one looking at the life of India with clear eyes can doubt that before many of you lads going out into the world there lies a period of probation and trial. I am confident that you have a most valuable, a much-needed, part to play in India's life, but more and more as the days pass will you find that you are required to make good on your own merits, and less and less allowed to stand upon any memories or privileges derived from the past. Therefore, to you who have still some school life before you, I say, Make the very best of it—lay up those habits and qualities of which I have spoken, for they will serve you well in the days to come. And those of you who are leaving now I congratulate on having had their time here. I am sure that hereafter they will always be grateful to and proud of the Martinière, and by their character and work will give the Martinière reason to be proud of them.

INAUGURAL DINNER, UNITED CLUB, ALLAHABAD

GENTLEMEN,—We are present to-night at the interesting but uncommon spectacle of a phoenix rising from its ashes. The United Club, which we are inaugurating, has had previous incarnations. It began life as a Students' Club in Stanley Road, and that good friend and well-wisher of Indian students, Mr. Selwyn Fremantle, was active in supporting it. Then your President of to-night, Mr. Justice Walsh, came on the scene and lent it a kindly hand. I understand that the Students' Club became in turn the Olympic Club and devoted itself to games ; until, as its members grew to rotunder manhood and the lack of good premises kept slimmer recruits away, its members ceased to be sufficient to support it.

April 5, 1924

But there were those who felt that it was worth while making a resolute effort to save an institution which ought to be of real value ; and the result of their endeavours is the present United Club. You start with good premises and fair equipment ; a wide basis of membership, and the normal healthy aims of an association for recreation. What are the other elements of success ? From what I know of clubs, I should be inclined to suggest to you that the health of a club depends partly on having a broad range of membership, and partly on the intensity with which its members feel a common purpose. From my own experience, I know that it is quite possible to err in either direction. I know of clubs which in their want of character and cohesion are nothing but hotels ; and of other clubs which cultivate a particular atmosphere so exclusively that the guest entering their portals is made to feel like a pariah dog. But a good club ought to be like a university—representative of many interests and enabling its members to learn from one another. I take your name for a good omen. Union implies much : whether it is a case of the United Kingdom, or the United States, or the United Provinces. These are all cases of constituent elements jealous in some

INAUGURAL DINNER, UNITED CLUB, ALLAHABAD

measure (jealous, perhaps in no small measure as we in Allahabad know) of their own identity, and yet agreeing partly to sink their identity in a greater whole. So may it be with the United Club. Whatever your constituent elements be—age or youth, East or West, official or non-official, lawyer or layman—if your members can feel when they are in the club that they have to bear themselves mainly for the sake of the club, then your success is assured. Club life consists in giving and taking. The good clubman brings some store of his own experiences, manners, habits of thought into the common stock, and he takes away in return something from his fellows. It is a truism to say that a successful club of this kind can play a great part in enriching and ameliorating the life of the capital. It is almost a truism to add that the value of the work consists mainly in the difficulty of it. But it seems to me that this venture of yours is full of promise. As I look around me I see that the material is here. You have a good house. From my previous personal acquaintance with this particular bungalow, I have reason to affirm that an air of friendliness and cheerfulness ought to brood over it. And yet it may be that for full and ripest development you will need your own premises; and I commend that suggestion to those who have the disposition and means to pursue it. The management is in good hands. Let unity, cohesion, be your motto; let the name of the club be an inhibition of cliques or schisms inside its doors; and if you will listen to one who has himself served on committees and in office in no despicable club, you will be wise to make your members comfortable. For the true clubman is not only a gregarious, but a somewhat luxurious animal, and comfortable chairs, good books, good papers, good pictures and neatly kept grounds, clean servants and above all, out of consideration for your President, unwarped billiard cues—these are all factors not to be neglected in making a club a success.

Now I give you in all confidence the toast, 'Prosperity to the United Club!'

CROSTHWAITE GIRLS' SCHOOL AND COLLEGE, ALLAHABAD

MR. JASWANT RAI, MRS. NAIK, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

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There are indications, both in the review which the honorary secretary has read to us, and in the departmental reports, that, in spite of its continued progress to higher levels, the college has gone through a period of difficulty. **April 5, 1924**

There has been a falling off in the number of students in the intermediate college, and consequently in the number of boarders. The committee no doubt are alive to such matters. I am well aware that the college is a pioneer institution ; and that, until the belief in female education is of stronger growth than it is at present in the United Provinces, it may be unwise to attempt to force the pace too much. Irregularity and unpunctuality of attendance is an inevitable difficulty, which nevertheless should be resisted as far as possible. Again, while you have a large staff of teachers—ample, I should say, for the number of students—I notice that the work in the lower classes is described as weak. Here, again, I would ask the committee to bear in mind the importance of laying a good foundation. I believe it to be often a true economy to entrust the teaching of the younger classes to the most capable instead of to the least trained hands. And I am sure that, in the true interests of the higher classes, the tendency to promote children who are not really fit to pass on should be withstood.

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The honorary secretary has touched upon the importance of the cause which this college represents ; and on the tangible difficulties in its way. There is no easy way out of these. The only thing is to go on keeping up the pressure to the right point ; and trusting that demonstrable results will arouse conviction. I am sure that there is no problem of greater importance to the happiness of India and her people.

CROSTHWAITE GIRLS' SCHOOL AND COLLEGE

I now turn to the delicate task of offering a few words of advice to the students who will soon be leaving this college. I would say to them that they will soon be charged with the important and difficult duty of maintaining race traditions and family customs. It will largely depend on them whether the coming together of Eastern traditions and Western ways, such as occurs in a college like this, is to prove a source of national strength and advancement, or whether it is to tend towards the evanescence of many cherished and valuable traits in Indian womanhood. There is no reason why that should happen if staff and students realize that the true end of education is the making of character. There are plenty of living examples of educated Indian ladies to show that it need not happen. But those who are going out from here in the near future will be watched with a critical eye, and on their success or failure will depend largely the popularity or the decay of institutions for the higher education of Indian women.

SRI BHARAT DHARAM MAHAMANDAL, BENARES

GENTLEMEN OF THE SRI BHARAT DHARAM MAHAMANDAL,—

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You touch at the end of your address on the economic side of cattle preservation. If I deal with this subject in some detail, it is because I know how great is your interest **August 8, 1924** in it and also because I want to impress upon you the interest which my Government take in a matter so closely affecting the well-being of an agricultural province. I will take first the suggestion that the number of cattle is declining. It is quite easy to account for that impression, because the destruction of cattle is a process that strikes the imagination more than the normal and diffused process of their reproduction. But the facts were stated in the legislature last October and they do not support the common belief. We found that the number of bulls and bullocks in the provinces had increased by 43,000 between 1899 and 1920, that the number of cows had increased in the same period by 51,000, that male buffaloes and cow buffaloes had similarly increased by 55,000 and by 475,000 respectively. Again, young stock, in which term calves and buffalo calves are included, increased by no less than 685,000. It is perfectly true that during the war there was some definite cause for anxiety on this question, but by 1920, as you will see, the position was entirely favourable, whilst the great increase in the number of young stock holds out great promise for the near future. We do not claim of course that the figures are correct to the last unit ; but we do believe that they are so nearly correct as to present the general situation accurately. Another cattle census is due next year : and its results will, I hope, further dissipate your fears.

GAYA PRASAD LIBRARY, CAWNPORE

MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE GAYA PRASAD LIBRARY,
CAWNPORE,—

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I remember hearing Lord Meston in an eloquent address delivered at the opening of the King Edward Memorial Hall congratulating the citizens of Cawnpore on the fact **August 12, 1924** that, having like the people of Venice grown rich in commerce, they were wisely devoting some of their wealth to the purposes of culture and adornment. His words are in my mind to-day. It is surely of great importance for the advancement of general culture that public libraries should be established in important centres of population in this province. Good libraries are natural fountains of culture ; they are the distributing centres of great thoughts.

We need more than ever before in this country alert and well-informed minds capable of forming sound judgments on the problems of the day, minds which do not take on trust easy and ready-made solutions. There is a danger at present of a monotony of thought—of only one idea holding the field, through the lack of opportunity and the neglect of the habit of consulting good books to see how the same problem has presented itself to different minds at different times. Familiarity with the experience of other times and places, and with the comments of critical and reflective minds upon them is of great help in forming sound opinions upon events. A library is one of the best means in our modern world of keeping thought vigorous and active, through unfettered commerce with the best minds of all the ages.

It is only in the fitness of things that in this great commercial centre, where its citizens have to lead such strenuous lives, there should be some place to which they can turn, after the wear and tear of the day, to spend a leisured hour in the company of good books. But I would say a word of warning against the danger of false books. A multitude of mean writings can do infinite

GAYA PRASAD LIBRARY, CAWNPORE

harm. You must exercise a wise discretion in the choice of books. I am glad to hear that there will be a representative library committee and that you propose to start with a fair nucleus of books. I note that you lay stress on the intention of making this a place of study. I hope that Reynolds and Harrison Ainsworth will not prove to be the most sought-after authors as sometimes happens in libraries in these provinces. The people of a place like Cawnpore ought to absorb a better mental pabulum than that. I trust that the public-spirited citizens of Cawnpore will contribute to make this library worthy of this city and worthy of the great citizen whose name it bears.

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PROVINCIAL MUSLIM EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE, AGRA

NAWAB SIR MUHAMMAD MUZAMMIL-ULLAH KHAN AND
GENTLEMEN,—I realize that your object in meeting me to-day is to
August 14, 1924 lay before me for consideration by my Govern-
ment in a complete and considered form your
views, the views of a representative body like the provincial
conference, in regard to the educational needs of the Musalman
community.

The memorandum accompanying your address certainly
embraces in its thirty-four pages a wide field of educational policy
and administrative practice, if indeed it does not go further still :
it reached me not many days ago ; at a time when the Minister
for Education, the Director of Public Instruction and I myself were
all on tour. I say this, not of course by way of complaint, but simply
to explain why you must not expect me to give an answer to-day
to all the large and difficult issues which your memorandum
raises.

I gladly avail myself however of this opportunity of assuring
you of my interest in the advancement of education, a cause
whose progress, as some of you know, I have ere now had an
opportunity of observing among the Musalmans at close quarters.
Your community has played a notable part in the history of this
country. They are the inheritors of a great civilization and of a
memorable culture. No one can quarrel with you if you aspire
to take in the government of this country a part worthy of your
past. You realize fully now that to keep abreast of other communi-
ties you must seize every opportunity for advancing the cause
of education among your people. But it required great effort,
infinite patience and power of persuasion before that great states-
man and pioneer of education among you, the late Sir Syed
Ahmad, was able to induce your community to take kindly to
Western learning. He had to face much opposition and mis-
representation—the common fate of all great reformers—before

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he could make his views prevail. Yet all through the struggle his faith never faltered. His memory no doubt is an inspiration to you and will help you to overcome difficulty and doubt and to pursue a great ideal with courage and self-reliance.

It may be that recent political distractions have diverted the attention of some Indian Muslims from the pressing educational needs of your community ; but now that you are free to devote your energies to domestic affairs you will be able more and more to make your voice and influence felt in the Legislative Council. But you must do whatever you can to keep the great cause of Muslim education off the eddies of communal and religious controversy. I am sure that in pressing your claims you will have due regard to the legitimate interests of other communities. No reasonable man can cavil at claims put forward in such a spirit.

It is essential for the peaceful and orderly development of this province that its two great communities should appreciate each other's point of view and should endeavour to remove all legitimate causes of mutual suspicion and misgiving. Ignorance is a fruitful source of misunderstanding ; and I trust that the provision of fair educational facilities for all communities will lead to a better understanding among them and to a unity of effort and aim in the advancement of the true interests of this country.

Now, although I cannot enter into detailed discussion of your proposals, I will tell you generally the view which I am personally disposed to take of them. You will remember that I speak for myself alone, and not as the Governor acting with his Minister at the present stage. You ask that you may be especially given a helping hand at every stage of education, from the spelling classes of the primary school right up to the university ; you desire special representation in all the various kinds of staffs and committees and governing bodies which contribute to the control of education ; you ask for a special allotment of public grants, and for special authorities to administer them in a way which comes near to setting up a sort of communal diarchy in local bodies. It is clear that what you seek is a rigid protection for your minority community at every stage of education. You are disposed to claim that the measure of the necessary protection to be afforded to minorities should be decided by the minorities themselves.

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In respect of some of the proposals by which you seek to translate these propositions into practice, I hope we shall be able to meet your wishes. Speaking for myself I should admit the proposition that a backward community has a claim to special consideration. In your case I hope that the position is not quite so serious as you describe it. The last educational report shows that the department is paying close attention to the question. I was glad to hear the acknowledgment in your address that Government have also shown you consideration. I see also that in university and intermediate colleges nineteen per cent of the total number of students are Muslim ; while in schools in general the percentage is sixteen. I am far from saying that you should rest content with these figures. They do not indeed compare badly with the proportion of Muslims in the provincial population. But I admit that there is force in the argument that Muslims are urban dwellers in larger proportion than some other peoples. I would put it that though there may be ample room for further effort there is no ground for despair.

On the other hand I cannot myself subscribe to the proposition that it is for a minority community to determine the terms which it will accept. That is an argument which I have often encountered before. If it is applicable to one minority community it is applicable to others ; and we should soon arrive at the absurdity of having to invent protection for the majority community. In dealing with this question I am conscious that what you have written and what I am saying applies to a much wider field than that of education. But I can only say that to me your proposition that the minorities should decide seems quite incompatible with the democratic ideal. I cannot think that its implications have been fully realized ; and I would suggest that you consider further whether adherence to what you are here advocating does not really involve a reconsideration of your attitude towards the attempt to find a democratic solution for this country's problems.

I note that you refer to a certain clause in the Governor's Instrument of Instructions ; but I would not have you interpret that as constraining the Governor to adopt your proposals. The Instrument has to be read as a whole and in the light of the existing constitution, by which education is a transferred subject and its

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administration is in the long run controlled by the legislature. So long as we all subscribe to the existing constitution the measure of the concession to be granted in any one quarter must be determined in the main through the ordinary processes of government. That is to say we have all to remember that whatever is given to a special community is necessarily withheld from all others ; and it is only by discussion between all parties, and a decision by assent, that a stable settlement can be attained. It is on this basis that my constitutional advisers and I myself will approach the complex questions which have been presented to us. And it will be for you, gentlemen, not to rest content with this representation which you have made to me. Personally I feel sure that we shall examine your requests with a real understanding and sympathy with your difficulties and apprehensions. But, even if we were able to take precisely the same view of your needs as you yourselves do—and frankly I doubt whether we should do that—we still have to play the game of administration according to the rules prescribed for us ; and according to those rules you have others to persuade besides ourselves. It is for you to do what you can to get your views accepted by discussion and argument and advocacy in the Legislative Council.

Gentlemen, I wish to thank you again for your kind references to me and to assure you of my solicitude for the welfare and prosperity of your community, with which ere now I have had close associations and among which I am glad to reckon many old friends.

DISTRICT BOARD, JHANSI

MR. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE DISTRICT BOARD OF
JHANSI,—

* * * * *

Your address embodies a desire for complete emancipation from all other authority in the sphere of local self-government.

November 2, 1924 That such an aspiration is in accord with the spirit of the times I readily acknowledge. But in your address it is expressed in eloquent terms which lead me to wonder whether in your desire to be completely independent you have paused sufficiently to realize what that actually implies. In the first place, you are dependent for nearly fifty-eight per cent of your income on Government grants: and for another twenty-one per cent on money collected for you by Government. You actually collect for yourselves only twenty-one per cent of the money which you spend. Upon this ground alone the demand that you should be relieved of any sort of control strikes me as premature.

Nor do I think that you have considered how profoundly the question of external control was affected by the reforms of 1919. When the distinguished authors of the Reforms Report spoke of 'external control', I have no doubt that they were principally thinking of external control as it then existed, the control exercised by the district officer and the divisional commissioner. They would have been the first to recognize that when the subject 'local self-government' was placed under a Minister responsible to the Legislative Council the question of the extent to which local boards were to be independent assumed quite a different aspect. So long as local bodies are dependent on grants from provincial funds they must recognize the right of the provincial Council to give and to withhold; and the Minister must be in a position to assure the Council that the boards are making a wise use of their money, and also that they are doing their best to discharge the duties which the legislature has

DISTRICT BOARD, JHANSI

assigned to them. It is not a question of diminishing the degree of popular control; but only of apportioning that control duly between the proper repositories. My conception of the right relation between boards and the provincial legislature is rather different from what I judge yours to be. I see the legislature and the boards not as antagonistic entities, but as co-operating parts of one administrative whole, the legislature being the senior partner and having an undoubted right to overlook the junior partner. So far from wishing to see the powers of the Minister and the legislature diminished in relation to the boards, I incline to think that the reformed constitution logically requires a closer approximation to, and not a further deviation from, English practice, according to which the powers of control exercised by the responsible Minister are in many ways more extensive than they are in the United Provinces—and are also actually more strict.

To pass, however, from questions of constitutional theory to more immediate concerns, I congratulate you heartily upon your success in balancing your budget, a feat which must obviously be the first aim of every sound administration and one which many other boards have found it difficult to achieve. But you feel that your financial difficulties press on you as heavily as ever, in the sense that you have so many schemes which you consider desirable but which you have not the funds to execute. Well, that is the position of every live and energetic district board in the province, and more or less, I hope, of every administration in the world. You know the poet says that

Ay, but a man's reach should exceed his grasp,
Or what's a heaven for?

We are anxious to help district boards to the full extent of our power, but our capacity to do so has for the time being been seriously affected by the recent devastating floods on the Jumna and Ganges, and as regards most of your schemes I fear that the choice before you is limited to two plain alternatives, either definitely to forgo your schemes as beyond your capacity, or else to make use of your unused powers of new taxation. I know that this is a hard saying and that taxation is unpopular. Government themselves know that from actual experience.

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Nonetheless other district boards are girding themselves up to the task ; and I know of no reasons why the Jhansi board should be less courageous than they.

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You have taken over the district board roads hitherto maintained by the Public Works department. This will give the board a chance of showing how efficiently and economically it can maintain them. You express the opinion that district boards should be empowered to impose a wheel tax. This idea is very much abroad at present. I believe it is sound enough in theory, but there are practical difficulties. Motor vehicles would be easy to tax, but would bring in very little. Bullock carts are potentially a more fruitful source of income, but the trouble is to find a practicable method of taxing them which would not be oppressive or lead to evasion. If any workable scheme can be devised you will certainly have the benefit of it. I think we must not relax our efforts to find a solution. You adopt the current view and blame motor lorries for the deterioration of your roads. The motor lorry is a convenient scapegoat, but some of my advisers hold that except in places where lorry traffic is really dense it is at most only a slight aggravation of a more deeply seated trouble. The same amount of material and labour is not being put into district board roads as of yore, while the cart traffic is as heavy as ever, perhaps heavier. If every mile of metalled road had as much metal and labour put into it as formerly, less would be heard of the ravages of the occasional motor lorry.

Your remarks about enquiries being made by the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals seem to rest on some misconception. He certainly has made some inquiries, but not with the idea of obtaining private subscriptions for opening more dispensaries but upon a matter which concerns you only indirectly. In Madras they have a plan which seems to be successful there and under which young medical men are encouraged to settle in important rural centres by the grant from Government of small temporary allowances to tide them over the first year or two while they are working up a practice. The Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals

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has been attempting to discover whether a similar scheme would have any chance of success in this province.

The Minister is summoning a conference of district boards at an early date to consider various important questions of common interest to them all. I hope that the District Board, Jhansi, will send its representatives. The Government are anxious to know more about the views and difficulties of district boards. Just as the boards do, they desire heartily to see the country traversed by a complete network of *pakka*, well-bridged roads ; and education and medical relief brought within the means of the poorest and most remote dwellers. That may be an ideal which neither you nor I will live to see fully attained. But at least it is worth striving for ; and every board which lays aside personal, party or political strife between its members and sets itself earnestly to find the means of promoting the welfare of its district is doing good work for which the country should be grateful.

CONVOCATION, LUCKNOW UNIVERSITY

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—There are many audiences which I should find it easier to address than

**December 15,
1924**

this one. The Chancellor of a University, who is also Governor of a province, risks falling between two stools. If he speaks as Governor upon university education as it affects the life of the province, not only does he step out of the robes appropriate to the occasion, but also he is likely to incur some suspicion of trying to use his official position to deflect the course of a self-governing institution. On the other hand for me to address you as Chancellor at any great length on the work of your particular university seems to me something superfluous in view of the able review of it which your Vice-Chancellor, whom I am glad to welcome back reinvigorated from his journey to Europe, gave us a few months back.

Convocation speeches often deal with the ideals of the true university. On these lines it was that you were addressed at last convocation by that lover and champion of university education, that veteran and outstanding leader, Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee, whose untimely death all India since deplores. I hope that I also am an idealist; but I feel a kind of diffidence about putting into words visions which reason tells me are not soon nor easily to be fulfilled. Do not mistake this admission. It is surely good to see visions. 'Where there is no vision the people perish.' And there are times when it is right and wise to nurse and foster the vision, because by so doing you actually further its fulfilment. We were passing through such a time but a very short while ago when my great-hearted predecessor founded this university. He loved nothing better than to think of Lucknow as the Oxford of the East: to see this city, that was so dear to him, the home of a great seat of learning and culture: a city enriched with fresh colleges and halls standing about spacious courts on either side of the river, and linked together by a stately university bridge: a place which should allure the best youth of thirteen millions of

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people, and invest them with a common culture and the serenity which comes with wisdom. All honour to Sir Harcourt Butler for his generous inspiration and the lead he gave us! Let us hold fast to the one, and follow the other. I know that this audience will be glad to hear that Sir Harcourt has accepted a proposal which I made to him; in pursuance whereof, I, acting as Chancellor, in virtue of the powers conferred on me by section 16 of the Act, hereby appoint him, in recognition of his great services to the cause of education, a Life Member of the Court of the Lucknow University.

But there are also times when we best pursue the gleam by looking closely to the ground under our very feet. I think that such a time is on us now. We have emerged from a period of crisis and new adventures and are beginning to realize that we have still some way to go. Money is short, though that is perhaps the least of our difficulties. Old prejudices and old errors die hard; and even education, with its sword of enlightenment, cannot instantaneously dispose of all the wild beasts that infest the pilgrim's path. It is a time for patience and organization and consolidation, for reviewing steps already taken in the light of experience so far gained, for listening to criticisms and determining whether they have substance, and for deciding whether there is anything that can be bettered within the limits of your financial resources. Such, I am assured, is the policy which the directors of this university have been pursuing. Of that I will say only that I am confident that for the present moment it is the sound policy in university as in other matters, and that courageously and perseveringly pursued it will eventually lead us to the dawn.

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So much, gentlemen, for what I have to say as Chancellor. But when I was at college, Convocation Day was above all Students' Day; and it is to the undergraduate students—not to those who have to-day received their coveted diplomas—that I am going to address most of what I have to say. They are, after all, the most important part of the university—those members of it who have still to win, and, also what is much harder, thereafter to wear worthily, the graduate's hood.

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I want, if I can, to speak directly to the students as a student myself—not merely as one to whom it was of crucial importance, as it is to many of you, to pass his examinations rapidly under the necessity of earning a living; but as one who hopes to his dying day to retain some interest in new things, some desire to enlarge the borders of his knowledge, and some prejudices as to the most hopeful ways of doing so. For it is generally agreed that there are right ways and wrong ways of study. But though I may hope that I have occasionally found the right way after experience of the wrong, yet you will remember that I speak as a mere empiric; and if anything I say clashes with what your professional and lawfully-constituted advisers have told you, then I hope that you will forget my words as those of the untrained amateur.

What leads most surely at all to knowledge is perhaps something that is a gift of the gods. It is none other than the passion for knowledge. The true student is not merely a learner; he is not merely (though always he ought to be also) a disciple: essentially he is the pursuer, the one who desires; the real *tālib-‘ilm*, the seeker after knowledge. Examinations, scholarships, degrees, and the income to which a degree may lead are really all incidentals: we cannot ignore them and at times they are dreadfully importunate; but yet the true student is he who, finding himself face to face with the mystery and richness of humanity, sets himself down to the heroic task of acquiring as much understanding of it as is possible in the span of human life with the mind and senses with which he is equipped and which he intends to train by the way. It is the hunger and thirst after knowledge—for her own sake, because of the charm and beauty of her—that makes the true student. The true student must be a true lover.

Such a one I can imagine, indeed I have known—sitting down as, for instance, Herbert Spencer does—to plan out the entire field of human knowledge as in a chart, and then to decide how and in what order he will explore the whole of it. He draws out the sciences in their relation to each other as in a genealogical tree, and he cons it over. While that high spirit of adventure holds him, he feels equally drawn to beauty and achievement whenever

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he may encounter it—in the philosophy of the sages, the music of the poets or the drama of history, in the mysteries of the atom or in Einstein's theory ; the grace of handiwork in some marvellous refinement of the natural kingdom, or the analogous beauty of some curve or series in pure mathematics. They all appeal to him, my ideal student. He gasps at the richness of the intellectual feast before him ; and he sighs to think that life is all too short to conquer all these worlds, and that as a practical man he must begin to discriminate, to choose the main object of pursuit, even if he still makes others a recreation.

So he comes face to face with the question of an aim ; and he will find the answer according to the bent he is born with, or some external impulse that is dominant with him. Each must decide the question for himself. With any answer that I may suggest others will disagree ; and yet, putting myself in the ideal student's place, I would answer the question by saying, in the first place, 'The proper study of mankind is man', even if one disagrees with Pope's assertion that the range of study should be confined even to that immense target.

Not for a moment do I imply that the knowledge of one's kind is best attained along any particular line or set of lines. The astronomer, the mathematician, the bacteriologist, the physicist, the biologist, the engineer—there have been living examples of them all to prove that each of these callings may make a man as humane, as broad-minded, as tolerant, as brotherly a human being as any other course of study. But no one need shrink from affirming his own private convictions, and to me it seems that on the whole it is the course of human events and human capacity and character, as disclosed to us in literature and history, in economics, law, political science, and moral philosophy, that fits and trains a man most immediately to play his part in life as a citizen. In saying this I know that I am up against the critics, who assert, and assert with cause, that the bane of higher study in India has been its fanatical dedication to the 'humaner letters'. But there is no inconsistency in recognizing a difference of utilitarian and theoretic values. For the moment I speak as a theorist. I hold that the greatest service that education can possibly do to India is to make her sons good citizens. I

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acknowledge the immense value of the training which science can contribute. Further, I concede the clear need for scientific and practical training to correct other tendencies. And yet if I stood here, one generation younger, in the place of one of you Indian undergraduates before me, desiring to play a part in the advancement of my country, and if practical considerations left me free to choose, I should, rightly or wrongly, prefer to pursue those paths of study which would tell me how other peoples passed through the travail of nation-making, and I should endeavour, in the language of the Psalmist, 'therefrom to suck out no small advantage'.

This is a digression. I was aiming at the proposition that the student should choose his sphere and choose considerately. Let him resolve to explore a specific field, and let him approach it in the right order, choosing his subjects so that each forms the right introduction to, the right basis for, the next. Such collocations of subjects for a degree as English-Persian-Chemistry, or English-Economics-Zoology, which used to be possible once under bad old academic regulations—though I am glad to know that they are possible no longer—were almost a denial of the cause of education. The men who adopted these ingenious combinations may very likely have found the easiest path to a degree; but they certainly did not get far along the road to an education.

Let us think of the qualities which we want to find in our citizens of the future, and consider what methods of study are likely to evoke them. India aspires to be a full member of the community of nations, respected by all the others not for her past memories, but for her present capacity and culture. But this is a competitive age, and there is little sentiment in international affairs. The men who are to sustain this country's reputation in the eyes of the world must be practical, cultured, exact, decisive people, knowing precisely what they think and why they think it.

I suggest that orderliness should be the first aim of our ideal student. Sometimes, as in logic or mathematics or Arabic, order is imposed upon him. Sometimes he has to find it for himself. In many subjects—whether it is constitutional history, or English literature, or a play of Shakespeare—there are certain salient

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points which can be seized and occupied at the outset. The beginnings of Parliament, the destruction of the old nobles, the restoration of personal rule and its downfall under the Stuarts, the rule of aristocracy under the guise of Parliament, the Reform Bill and the broadening of democracy—these are the turning points of English history along one line : just as her severance from France, her disowning of the Papacy, her taking to the sea, her founding overseas dominions, her resistance to the domination of Europe by any single Power, her break with America, are the main points along another line.

Take, again, the story of the greatest war in history—what are the essential points for the student to make sure of ? I suppose they are the invasion of Belgium, the battle of the Marne, the locking of the western lines, the battle of Jutland, the submarine campaign, and the entry of America. These I put first, not because they tell the whole story, but because they seem to me to lead most directly, unerringly, to the finale, more directly (though here I am on debated ground) than even the immense events in Russia, Gallipoli and Mesopotamia.

Or take a much homelier case : the common case of the non-mechanically minded man who becomes owner of a motor-car. Anxious to understand its working, he peers inside, and sees a mass of contorted metal viscera, black, oily and repellent. If he investigates them haphazard I am sorry for him. But suppose he says to himself, 'There must be method in this madness. This beast must have not merely a bony framework, but also an alimentary canal, a muscular system, a nervous system ; why, it has even eyes and voice', then he is on his way to come much quicker to an understanding of the petrol-feed, the ignition, the engine, the transmission, the controls, the lighting and the electric horn.

What I have been saying about the taking of things in the right order is only one form of the doctrine of economy of effort. As you know, in American workshops this has been exalted to a science. Lecturers instruct workmen how to perform each movement of hand or foot with a view to the conservation of muscular energy. The trained athlete also knows something of the art. It is much the same in reading. Cultivate the habit of looking

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for the essentials first, because that is the economic method of study.

Once get the main props of the building fixed firm and in the right relation, and it is easy to fill in the interspaces. Not all these are nearly of equal interest or value, and the wise student will concentrate on those which attract him most. But in any case, let him pick out for exact and accurate knowledge some special section, some outstanding detail of history, some particular investigation, or some passage of wisdom or beauty in a book, and make it his own to the last comma. We are warned against undue memorizing: and to memorize without understanding is in truth a sterile labour; but when you come on what you yourself feel is good for you, then by all means get it by heart. There is no way of possessing a subject without laying by the best bits of it securely in one's head. The possession of a dozen of the finest passages in Shakespeare or Shelley will do more for a man's culture than reading many commentaries on these writers.

Next in order I suggest come accuracy and thoroughness, qualities more difficult to cultivate in another language than in one's own. It is the peculiar gift of natural science, mathematics and logic that they insistently impose accuracy of observation and closeness of reasoning on us. But with literary subjects it is different. Words are of all things the most deceiving: and never more so than when they seem familiar and we have forgotten to watch them closely. What we need is to make sure that words correspond to things; never to let ourselves be dominated by symbols, phrases, catch-words; but to look through these and behind them to reality. This is by no means easy. I believe the best help lies in writing. Here comes in the value of original expression. It is all very well to be made a full man by reading; but it is writing (says Bacon) that maketh an exact man. We can only be sure of our understanding of a matter when we begin to put it out for ourselves. Commentaries and paraphrases of an author have their use; but it is better to expound him for oneself and to blunder in the process than slavishly to follow other men's expositions. It is better to try and to fail, even to fail badly on one's own account, than not to try at all. What Browning says about 'the unlit lamp and the ungirt loin', strong saying as it is, has a biting moral for each of us.

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One word as to the manner of exposition. If I had to teach writing in an Indian university I should insist *ad nauseam* on the value of simplicity. The more simple and the more direct you are, the better will your words express your thought; and the effort to find the right short word will do much to clarify thought. It was unlucky for India that she began to model her expression on the great writers of English at a time when they themselves were so charged with classicisms and ornamentation, traceable to the influence of that highly ingenious and elaborate writer, Sir Thomas Browne. We never have recaptured in this country the clean, brief Saxon speech. And I confess with regret that our own official language has done much to stereotype bad habits of English. There are many honourable exceptions. But I believe that more than half the written output of our offices and secretariats is expressed in a weak and wordy jargon. We are vague when we ought to be definite: we inveterately prefer the abstract to the concrete: we fill out sentences with needless and meaningless padding (like 'having regard to all the circumstances of the case'); we love mechanical and otiose adjectives and adverbs; we slither into deformities of syntax which will not bear inspection; we glorify the commonest of wayside objects (like railways or forests or joint stock companies) with capital letters; and above all if we can possibly convey our meaning in the passive rather than the active voice, that is if we can recoil from a positive convincing affirmation, we do so: all of which things are wrong and of bad example. I am not sure how all this has come about; partly perhaps from our having inherited insincere models; possibly from some desire to sustain the artificial dignity of diction of the Moghul court; but mainly I suspect from indolence or fear of making mistakes through trying to be too precise: in fact from lack of concentration. Listen to what Henry James said about the changes which he saw happening to the English language in America twenty years ago. 'The note of cheapness—of the cheap and easy—is especially fatal to any effect of security of intention in the speech of a society; for it is scarce necessary to remind you that there are two very different kinds of ease; the ease that comes from the conquest of a difficulty, and the ease that comes from the vague dodging of it. In the one case you gain facility,

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in the other case you get more looseness.' A commentator praises that phrase of his 'security of intention,' as shining like a searchlight, as clarifying and intensifying the argument for the coherent culture of speech. There is certainly not enough 'security of intention' about our official writing; and both for our own sakes and on account of the bad example we are setting I hope that it is not too late for us to amend our ways.

And here I would add—do not be afraid of revising. Rarely one dulls and stales one's work by over-elaboration. Much more often one does not take care enough. There is often so much to be said that the manner of saying seems to matter little. It really matters much to the reader and even more to the writer. There is always something better in you than you have put forth in the first free easy movement. There is much to be learned from looking at the manuscripts of great writers. Seldom are their emendations—their second or third thoughts—wrong. And remember also this: there is no material so easy and plastic to work in as words—words so long as they are in manuscript, *kachha*, unprinted; but once you bake your language into type, once you print and publish, once even you sign a letter, words are of all things most intractable and rigid. Is not that a reason for taking much care with them?

One more point. I spoke of accuracy and thoroughness. You remember that fine poem called 'A Grammarian's Funeral'. The scholar who gave his life fanatically to the smallest minutiae of scholarship is carried for burial to the lofty mountain top, because the intensity of his devotion showed the loftiness of his spirit. I do not hold him up for universal imitation. But there is wisdom for us all in the lines:

That low man goes on adding one to one,
His hundred's soon hit :
This high man, aiming at a million,
Misses a unit.

Genius, command, fame and glory, these are not in the reach of every man. 'Always keep in mind the weight that your shoulders can bear', says Horace. Better modest achievement than ambitious failure. If a man sticks to it steadily and earnestly, 'precept upon precept, line upon line, here a little and there a little', there

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is no fear of his failing. The image of the true learner that comes readiest to my mind is a picture of the bricklayer (it occurs to me belatedly that the image has some unhappy associations), I mean the good bricklayer, not worrying about styles of architecture or letting values, but setting well-baked brick on brick in good tenacious mortar, and giving the whole of his skill to the task, until the complete house solid and four square emerges from his hands. That is the way in which many of our best scholars have worked.

I expect you have been waiting to hear me utter that ominous word—‘discipline’. I know it has no grateful sound in students’ ears, because they seem to regard it as merely equivalent to saying ‘Don’t do that!’ But really this view is not quite fair to the word: archaically it means ‘learning,’ ordinarily it means ‘ordered learning,’ and only incidentally does it connote correction or punishment. Those who preach discipline generally dwell on the moral benefits which it confers upon those disciplined. I too believe in those; but I am not going to labour the point, because you have probably heard enough of it already. I want you to think of discipline not as a matter of external restraint but of internal grace, indeed as a necessary factor in any worthy achievement. Co-ordination, evenness, unity, economy of time and effort for actual results—these are the fruits of it. Let me cite two witnesses whose words ought to carry weight with you. When Mr. Chintamani, who was afterwards Minister for Education in these Provinces, came back from England about 1919, I remember his telling me how immensely he had been impressed by the self-imposed discipline of the people as making for efficiency. My other witness is the late Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu. I was standing alongside him on the deck of a cruiser during the war, and I shall never forget how he broke out in words of admiration as the blue-jackets went smartly to their posts and put the ship in fighting-trim the moment she left harbour. You do not get high efficiency like that by any system of repression and punishment. The sense of the value of discipline is deep-seated in the men themselves. It is just the same with a university. Teachers cannot give, nor can students receive, up to their full capacity without it. Therefore I say

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cultivate discipline, if for no better reason, as a most valuable ingredient in success.

When I ask principals and lecturers whether their pupils are industrious and work hard I am confidently assured that they work very hard indeed. I will not let the fact that they always seem ready to ask for holidays outweigh that assurance in my mind. I believe that there is no reason then for me to say 'be diligent'. I will rather say 'do not work too hard'. Do not overtask brain and eye. You have got to keep a reserve of strength, and vitality wherewith to grow. University days ought to be in India, as they are elsewhere, one of the happiest times in a man's life: a time of cheerfulness and expansion when one makes new friends and is conscious of new stirrings and new capacities, and realizes the pleasure of living. Exercise and games are as necessary to the healthy student as meat and drink. I am not thinking entirely of games which encourage combination and exalt the cause above the prize, though every one knows the virtue of them. But as an American public man pointed out the other day, games are good because as the saying goes 'they take it out of us'. What they take out is something of that impulse to conflict which is strong within us all from the cradle. If that old instinct cannot find a safe outlet, it will break out in restlessness and unhappiness, in quarrels and useless violence of thought and action. Debates are another healthy way of working off the same impulse. But when we have summed up all that the class-room, the hostel, and the playing-field can provide—the interchange of views, the talks with tutors, the development of wind and sinew as well as of mind, there is still room for the individual to treat himself. It is wise to have some private diversion of one's own. I notice that people who can go and watch little birds through field-glasses or who collect flowers are generally quite happy about it. There is much to be said for photography; something to be said for keeping a diary; something even to be said for collecting postage stamps, if only you are keen enough. One innocent and useful recreation is to keep that despised thing, a commonplace book, and to record as you meet them the striking events or sayings of the hour. There is always so much worth garnering by the wayside which we let go for want of method.

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In particular I beg you, cherish the amusing things : there is great virtue in laughter, and a store of humour will be a help to you when things go wrong.

This brings me to my last point. I believe that my honourable colleague, the Minister for Education, is absolutely right in saying that we do not give beauty its due place in education. Certainly if I had the money and power to complete this university in brick and stone, I would give you not merely laboratories and classrooms, but art and music too. One sees that the need exists. It is the hunger after colour and form that is partly responsible for the prints which hang in hostels and common-rooms. I do not wish to criticize them ; but who would deny they might easily be much better ? I would like to see the walls of university rooms furnished with really good photographs of the great Indian monuments : the Taj Mahal and the Kutb Minar ; the Black Pagoda and the Kailasa Temple ; the stupas and carvings of Sanchi. There should be casts of all the finest statues, and good prints in colour of the great Ajanta frescoes and the best work of the modern artists. And I would like to see these multiplied in smaller reproductions so that they should find their way first into students' rooms and so gradually into the better class homes of India. Taste is formed by dwelling on beauty, and with a sense for beauty comes a happiness that is certainly not of earth, but as it were a gift of the gods. It seems to me that here, and by no means beyond our reach, is a way of enriching the intellectual life of our young men which some benevolent philanthropist might readily pursue. Perhaps after we have seen the exhibition of Indian art which, thanks to Rai Rajeshwar Bali's initiative, is shortly to be opened in this city some one may be moved to act upon the idea. At all events, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, I hope that the university authorities will encourage your students to see the art exhibition and to attend the musical conference and so to familiarize themselves with the best that India has produced in the two worlds which satisfy the eye and ear.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am grateful to you for the way you have heard me at this length. Students of the Lucknow University, your intellectual Mother—young as she is to have nurtured so many sons—has done much for you. You are under an obligation

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to maintain her good name. That you will do best by striving constantly to be strenuous, courteous, broad-minded, self-controlled, hopeful and brave. Struggle, effort, disappointment there must be; these are the pains of growth. Perhaps we officials do not always realize as vividly as we might some of your handicaps and difficulties. But you may be sure that we have had our own; and what matters more than the character of the trial is the spirit in which it is met. Never was the right message to youth better uttered than in the words of a poet whom I have quoted twice already—why, I do not know, unless I feel instinctively that he affords the right medicine for our times—but in any case they are brave words:

Then welcome each rebuff
That turns earth's smoothness rough,
Each sting that bids nor sit nor stand but go!
Be our joys three-parts pain!
Strive, and hold cheap the strain,
Learn, nor account the pang; dare, never grudge the throe!

POLICE DINNER, MORADABAD

MR. ASHDOWN AND GENTLEMEN,—I thank you for your warm hospitality to my staff and myself and I am deeply obliged to you for the kind manner in which you have just drunk my health. This is the third time that I have come on police business to Moradabad, once as Inspector-General and twice in my present office, and on each time you have kindly made me welcome. Moreover it happens, a matter that is probably of more interest to me than to you, that to-day marks very nearly the end of the second year of my office as Governor. As I look back over these two years I realize that in many things I have been very fortunate ; fortunate in the first place in having good colleagues who have always sought to give me wise advice and help in difficulty, and one of whom, the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad, I am glad to see present now. His coming here is only one more proof of the deep interest which he takes in all that pertains to the welfare of the police. I feel that I am fortunate also in the fact that the province has regained its good temper and sanity, and that the old friendly relations between the people and officers again subsist ; fortunate, because our Legislative Council has dealt fairly with us and has not attempted the sort of sabotage which has been practised elsewhere ; fortunate certainly on the whole in this, that the province has had healthy seasons and good crops ; but above all fortunate in feeling that my Government have enjoyed the trust and loyal support of all its officers, and none more so than the officers of the Indian Police, whose Inspector-General I had the honour to be for a brief space. I shall be lucky indeed if I can retain all these assets during whatever period I may have still to serve.

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If in the presence of my honourable colleague the Home Member, I may reveal secrets of policy, I want to tell you that we are trying to find a solution of one police problem which I know has vexed every good officer who cares for the well-being

POLICE DINNER, MORADABAD

of his men, I mean the problem of the miserable condition of police stations and quarters throughout the greater part of this province. Whether we shall succeed I do not know; but if we do few successes will please me more.

Mr. Ashdown and gentlemen, I am sure you all know that the Government of the United Provinces expect great things of their police officers. They know how largely the task of keeping order lies in your hands; and speaking for them I thank you for the way in which you have served us hitherto, and I wish you all success in the years before you.

ALL-INDIA ART EXHIBITION, LUCKNOW

MR. CHAIRMAN, RAJA SAHIB, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—
An old friend of mine has just been elected President of the Royal Academy. I wish that Sir Frank Dicksee were here to open this exhibition, and to deliver this presidential address. I am sure that he would have much of interest to say about the way in which Indian paintings strike the eye of a Western painter of the school of Leighton and Poynter. January 8, 1925

When I agreed, at the Minister's request, to preside to-day, I was attracted by the pleasure of being associated with an occasion so important as that of the first representative exhibition of Indian art. I did not sufficiently reflect upon my lack of equipment for the task of addressing you upon æsthetic matters. Generally I know what I admire in painting and sometimes, but not always, can define why I like it. If I name in one breath half a dozen of the Western masters whose work I most admire—Botticelli, Raphael, Tintoretto, Rembrandt, Constable and Turner—I daresay it would puzzle any one to say whether such preference follows any canon of judgment, any love of particular qualities, or is merely capricious. None of my favourite Western painters certainly seems to help much towards an appreciative understanding of Indian art. But taste formed on a basis of Western art has possibly coloured one's choice among Indian artists too. Within the narrow limits of my acquaintance I am prepared to confess that in my heart I really admire the Ajunta paintings more than anything that follows them in Indian art; more than the old story pictures, vigorous as they are, of hunts and battles, or the fine delicacy of Mughal portraiture, the rich detail of scenes in palaces and gardens, or the romance and mysticism which characterizes the modern and yet indigenous Calcutta school.

Controversy, we all know, has been aroused ere now by some European judgments on Indian painting; but I hope that nothing which I shall say will arouse it. Let me try to say how I approach the matter. I know that some critics, for example the

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late Mr. William Archer, have questioned the value of Indian achievement in terms that must be irritating in their implications. I need not summarize his arraignment. At the same time I suggest to you that the defence has sometimes been at least as arrogant as the attack. I have read diatribes which impute the crassest incompetence, if not indeed a certain moral obliquity, to those who withhold their admiration from oriental art. I have encountered enthusiasts who claim not merely that Indian artists are entitled to their own peculiar conventions and symbols (for if *that* were all, surely judicious people would readily admit the claim), but that Indian artists have found the way to interpret the things of the spirit in a finer, nobler, purer, more quintessential manner, than all the painters or sculptors of other times or races. Such a proposition as that strikes me at least as less the outcome of reasoned judgment than of ardent, honest zealotry. It seems to me a little like what the Americans call 'boosting': and instinctively I recoil from it.

I admit that by tradition and education my bent is naturally in favour of the West. At the same time if I may avow my own belief, it is that great art depends far more on the nobility of the ideas than on the mode of expression. If truth, beauty and goodness are all facets of the absolute, as I have been taught to think—then I hold that no single race or nation possesses the one solitary key to them. We all approach them under the limitations imposed by our breeding and tradition. There may be many ways of expressing the eternal verities; and every race and nation is perfectly entitled to prefer its own. Divergence has this benefit, that competing schools and methods react upon and stimulate each other. If ever some dominant force or personality arose to reconcile and blend all religions or all philosophies or all art in one final amalgam, I can readily conceive that the result might be tragedy.

It is wisest to seek out the excellences of Indian art without disparaging comparisons. Now Indian painting undoubtedly has perplexities for those who are unfamiliar with it and yet would understand it. Many of us are puzzled by its lack of interest in anatomy and perspective. We have been accustomed to treat both with high respect; and it comforts us very little indeed to

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be told that the fault lies in ourselves, and that the Indian painter's eye was seeing types and generalities, and 'soaring beyond the artificial barriers of space and sight'. That or something like it is what the Cubists and Futurists plead. But I suggest that there are more persuasive ways of invoking the sympathy of the ordinary man than by calling him a Philistine. When on the other hand an Indian expositor reminds us that most Indian pictures were small in size and meant to be looked at as a book is held in the hand, then we can see at once how that conditions their treatment. Clearly there cannot be the same need of depth and distance as for example in the Vatican frescoes. The Indian artist relies for his main effects on line and colour and concerns himself far less with light and shade. We have met the same sort of two-dimensional painting on Greek vases, and in illuminated chronicles and missals, and in the shadowless paintings of the earlier Italian religious schools. Perhaps we cannot quite expel the doubt whether the self-imposed limitation is a gain: but at all events we can subdue it: and once we have done that we shall be able to see with clearer eyes the strong points of such pictures, the refinement of outline, the richness and subtlety of colouring, the restraint, and the economy of means.

Again, when Indian critics tell us that European art is essentially imitative, while Indian art expresses 'hieratic culture or race tradition', I think that lovers of Western painting may be forgiven if they feel a little restive at the imputation of inferiority. It is true, I suppose, that the present age is not one in which great painting flourishes in Europe—or indeed anywhere in the world. But perhaps that may be due to causes from whose effects India cannot hope indefinitely to escape. There are few topics over which it is easier to lose oneself in a waste of words than over schools of painting. Even if we lay it down that Eastern art is traditional, symbolic and spiritual, while Western art is individual, realistic and material—has that pontifical utterance really helped us to see the two in their right relation? Suppose we try to get away from labels. If art is a living thing, it is part of the life of humanity, and it must change and develop with the changing and developing life of the race. We may get

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some light on this, if for a moment we look back and recall what has happened to painting in the Western world.

I chose 'individual' as the first popular label to apply to Western painting, because we are always being told, and as I think truly, that the artist's prime duty is to express himself: to render his own qualities and character: to give the world his own special vision of truth and beauty. And even though art cannot be completely dissociated (as the phrase 'art for art's sake' used to suggest) from other activities of life, yet the artist must be disinterested, in the sense that he is not a teacher nor a moralist nor a man of science. He may show men reality and goodness; but if he forgets that he is primarily a doer, and seeks to preach morals or to discover truth, then the artistic quality of his work will suffer.

But this was not always the conception of the artist's function: he used to be by no means a chartered libertine. He represented not himself but a phase of the common life about him, and with that common life his work was intimately linked. Inquirers seem to be agreed that in the beginning art arose out of the play-instinct, the working-off of superfluous energy, in such forms as the carving of primitive weapons or the patterns with which the potter or weaver found it easy and amusing to ornament his work. Then, when design and colour were felt to have a value of their own, that is to say, when the idea of 'works of art' was conceived, they were mainly applied to the service of religion as decoration of the temples of the gods, or the tombs, and eventually the palaces of kings who claimed divine rank. This was where the old artists of Egypt, Babylonia and Assyria found their scope, and the emotions at which they aimed—awe and wonder—were those peculiarly associated with religion. It often happened that beauty of outline, and truth to nature were attained, but these were not consciously sought after, except indeed in Greece, where the gods were conceived in a more human relation, and the perfection of human forms came to be the artistic ideal. In this way, I mean in its close association with religion, art served a definite social purpose: it reinforced religion and through religion it contributed to the stability of the State.

Moreover, the ancient temples with their paintings and sculp-

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tures were the work of schools and guilds rather than of single artists; and this seems to be true not merely of the conventional art of ancient Egypt, but even of the rapidly developing art of ancient Greece. Not till the closely-knit city states merged in the cosmopolitan empires of Alexander and his successors does art of a more individualist character, art of the type which we recognize as modern, begin to appear. I think it would be easy to show that one and the same process is apparent simultaneously in the history of sculpture, of painting or of literature.

Passing over the chaos of the invasions to the Middle Ages of Christendom, once more we find art the handmaid of religion. It is still dedicated, not secular; it is still corporate, not individual. The great Gothic cathedrals were the work of guilds: and in close connexion with them, are to be found the typical products of the painter—the stained glass window, the altar-piece and the illuminated missal. All these, like the old temple frescoes and statues, were executed with strict regard to the place and purpose which they were meant to serve. I admit that we have wandered far away from the ancient conception of the artist's function when 'we stick pictures indiscriminately on nails about the walls of houses'. But let us be careful how we hastily conclude that the change has been all for the worse. What has happened since to Western art is surely but a reflex of what occurred in Western life and thought. The shattering, vivifying influence of the Renaissance and Reformation set free ideas, and encouraged adventures undreamed of before. They mark the beginning of the victory of personal judgment. Both were great liberations, and both brought great gains. Inevitably there were losses too. As we have seen, the great art and poetry of the past was rooted in and expressed the national life. The old Hebrew writers, Homer, the Athenian dramatists, Dante, even Milton, were typical of their times in a way which it is hard for modern writers to attain. But if art lost simplicity and harmony it gained immensely in variety and freedom. Painting gained immensely in technique, and expanded into 'regions Cæsar never knew', that is to say, not merely into mythology and history, but into portraiture, narrative, landscape and domestic life. It escaped from the church and from guilds, and from being (what Indian art still is) simple,

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traditional and typical, it became complex, individual and intent on truth to nature, or (if you like the word) 'realistic'. But to call the best modern art 'imitative' seems to me to be by far the smaller half of the truth. Turner is the greatest of the moderns : and he is also the most poetical of painters. I know of nothing in colour that speaks more clearly of the infinite than some of his great works. 'The light that never was on sea or land' is in the glory of his sunsets. Is there no idealism about Rossetti, Holman-Hunt, Watts and Leighton ? Or take the great portrait painters—Velasquez, Rembrandt, Raeburn, Gainsborough, Reynolds : is their art merely 'imitative', 'material', 'realistic' ? Is there no reason for suggesting that some champions of Indian art before calling on us to cast forth the beam from our eye might consider the possible presence of a mote within their own ?

But it is time that I came nearer home, and closer to this remarkable collection about us. It has been said most truly that the way to an appreciation of Indian art lies in an attempt to understand Indian thought and character. Before we can judge the paintings, we need to know how the Indian artist thought about his gods and saints and kings and heroes. We need to know something of the mind of India : its capacity for spiritual devotion, its love of country and home and kin, its self-sacrifice, its patience in adversity, its innate gentleness. Indian critics are entirely right in claiming that Indian painting reposes on religion and tradition ; and in this respect it has a clear analogy with the Middle Age art of Europe of which I have spoken. As Dr. Coomaraswami says :

'The old Mughal nobles had the good taste not to do the walls of their houses with miscellaneous pictures hanging at all angles . . . but to employ the most skilled miniature painters, to paint for them pictures of the subjects traditional in northern Indian culture, the portraits of kings and saints, the lore of Laili and Majnuni, pictures of the chase or of war : and there are not wanting also Hindu subjects, Uma serving Mahadeva, and many a picture of the Lord of the eternal snows himself', and then he goes on to point out how with the production of these portfolio pictures there occurred in India that same divorce of painting from architecture which, as we saw, happened elsewhere.

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The continuous story of art in India re-begins with these miniature pictures, because after the great Ajunta wall-paintings there occurred (as I understand) an interval of nearly a thousand years over which actual remains of paintings are almost entirely lacking in India until the middle of the sixteenth century when the new output begins. For which reason, though happily some tracings of the Ajunta frescoes have also been secured, this exhibition is in the main composed of the Mughal and Rajput portfolio pictures, together with representative paintings of the new revival and a few paintings in the European manner. I am told that never before has so complete a collection been assembled, in spite of the fact that many pictures have not returned from Wembley and that lesser exhibitions are also being held ; and I am proud to think that this has been done in Lucknow and under the auspices of one of my colleagues in the Government of this province. In the name of the promoters, and also on behalf of the many who will enjoy this exhibition, I thank the generous and public-spirited owners who have consented to part temporarily with their treasures. They have done India a real service in opening the eyes of her people to the richness of her art treasure-house. Here we shall be able to follow for ourselves the progress described by writers of text-books. We shall see the effeminate, mannered and conventional element of the Indo-Persian giving way to the more virile Mongol influence, and both combining with the indigenous art of the country to form the new art which bloomed under Jahangir and Shah-jahan, with its special excellence in portraiture, its interest in character, and its concern with the doings of kings and courtiers. Mr. Vincent Smith says that the Mughal gallery of historical portraits is such as no other country in the world can show. Side by side we have gathered here some delightful specimens of the other great school—the Rajput school of painting : Hindu and indigenous in origin, owing relatively little to outside influence ; a descendant of the tempera paintings which disappeared from sight after Ajunta : an art rather of the people than of the court, devotional rather than secular. It has been called decadent in the sense that it has fallen ~~away~~ from higher levels : ‘ a folk-art descended from a more magnificent tradition ’ : and good judges

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say that it is curiously unequal in its achievement. Even in late times occasional masterpieces are to be recognized ; while its lowest manifestations may be judged, though perhaps harshly, from the cheap German reprints whose ready sale shows what a hold upon the mind of the people have the subjects represented. Here, too, we may be educated to distinguish the two main styles of Rajput painting : the Pahari type with its Vaishnava features, the epic of Rama, the life of Krishna, the sympathy of animals and inanimate things with love and goodness : paintings whose strength lies in the expressive treatment of emotion in movement and gesture. There are excellent examples also of the Jaipur schools, which judges have described as harder and less accomplished than the Kangra work, but notable for its larger scale, its insistence on scenery, its admirable studies of animals, and the grace of individual figures especially of women. One Indian writer brings out eloquently the point which I ventured to suggest already, that much of this Rajput painting has a kinship with the pre-Raphaelite Italians. We find, he says, 'expressed in both arts the same child-like purity of soul, the same gentle wonder at the beauty of flowers and animals, the same mysterious sweet serenity in the faces of women, the same worship of humanity as a symbol of the divine. And this is due not to borrowing but to similarity of impulse : for the human spirit is not so constructed that it can borrow a nobility of expression without nobility within itself.'

One characteristic type of Indian painting is that which depicts night scenes : journeys by night, camps by night ; huntings, lovers' meetings, visits to hermits, and especially scenes of devotion by night. Of these we have here some beautiful examples. No wonder that in India where night comes gratefully after the heat and glare of day, where the contrasts of white moonlight and dark shadow are so strong, or if the night is moonless the stars burn like candles in heaven, artists were strongly moved to express the romance and mystery of the dark. There is a purity and serenity and peace about these pictures which the dullest of us must feel.

The stream of Mughal and Rajput painting gradually spent itself in the sands of the middle nineteenth century. Some judges blame

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the change of taste induced by a system of education towards the West, culminating in schools of art which tried, no doubt in all sincerity, to propagate European styles. Hard things have been said about the results, and on the whole I believe justly. I am nowise concerned to defend the taste or the judgment of forty years ago in this, as in various other matters. What is hopeful is that the revolt against it occurred a generation since and has continuously been gathering force. The aim of the reformers is 'not to introduce European methods and ideals but to gather in and revitalize the proper threads of Indian tradition'. Its inception, as we all know, is associated with the honoured names of Mr. Havell and Mr. Abanindra Nath Tagore, the latter of whom has not merely painted much himself but also been the leader and teacher of a small but increasing school, whose inspiration and technique has been as far as possible Indian. Several, I believe, are represented here. They have gone back, some to Ajunta, others to Mughal or Rajput sources. Their subjects are taken primarily from Indian history, epic, religious literature and legend; and secondarily—and as I privately surmise, more hopefully—from the common life of the people. Some of their qualities one can praise without reservation: indeed they are the qualities of the best of their progenitors—the delicacy, the grace, the harmony, the restraint, the economy, the concentration of which I have spoken already. About other qualities I am more hesitant. Are they as virile, as decisive, as brave in outline, as clear in tone? Is not the colouring sometimes tiresomely subdued? Is the word 'sentimentality' never to be breathed about them? Have they entirely escaped contagion from say modern Paris, or Japan? I hope I shall not seem captious, and yet in all sincerity I cannot admire without reservations. In many ways, not all, the new movement recalls the courage, the inexperience, the temerity, and the occasional over-reaching of the so-called pre-Raphaelites in England. I suggest that in the new revivalist movement that is being nourished in Calcutta and Lahore there is great hope but not yet assured achievement.

Well then, gentlemen, what of the future? First, allow me, being timid in these matters, to take shelter behind a brave Indian critic whom I have already quoted—one who has gone to lengths

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to which I could hardly afford to go in condemning the vulgarization of modern India, 'the prostitution of her art to the tourist trade'—a proposition enforced by illustrations which might sound ungracious from my lips. In agreement with him I suggest to you that India also, in spite of her traditional, her instinctive clinging to immaterial things, is now in some danger—even she—of too much affecting a material ideal, an ideal for which, while artists keep silence, other combatants—politicians and economists—are stridently contending. Think of art as a creative force, fecund, vitalizing; and set it for a moment beside these other things. I do not believe that any Government, certainly any foreign Government, can really teach a people administration, and still less industry. At the most it can throw open the doors. But more than either of these, art must come from within, from the consciousness and the emotions; and being rooted in the heart and brain of a people, it is surely of all plants least amenable to extraneous cultivation. You must feel before you can do. But I believe also that to the full stature of a nation, artistic growth is as essential as political maturity or industrial wealth. What is the conclusion? Elsewhere in the world we may say that in its hold upon the popular consciousness painting has nowadays outrun architecture and sculpture and the older forms of literature, the epic and the great drama; while it lags far behind music, and the newer forms of literature—the novel and the magazine, the daily newspaper, and the new drama also, especially in its latest portentous development, the cinematograph. But nonetheless pictorial art enters into the common life of Europe in a way in which it does not yet permeate India. Every large city has its gallery and art school; pictures of varying quality are to be found in every house; reproductions are numerous cheap and often very good; treatises are multitudinous and are read. This most successful, but arduously achieved, exhibition is itself a proof that the paintings of India lie hidden away and have to be sought out with toil. This makes me think that before India can attain full healthy maturity, her art has to go wider, stronger, further. It has to enlist not merely more artists but to find many more devotees—and buyers. To play its full part in spreading beauty abroad it must

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expand beyond the palaces of princes, the galleries of connoisseurs, the state-made schools of art, far abroad by way of municipal halls and colleges and schools, into the homes of the people. For, if I judge aright, there are various increments of the body politic, which all move and march together in time and step: political independence; military sufficiency; industrial prosperity; artistic culture: these make the rare and perfect four-leafed shamrock that we have to seek; which, once you find it, will change magically into a deep-stablished tree, strong to withstand all the storms of national existence.

It is time for me to have done. I praise this exhibition for two reasons—the weaker one, that it will do something to broaden and vivify the sympathies of us comparatively few Englishmen and women with your large India: the stronger one, that it ought to do much to offer a new, rich, hopeful vista to Indian eyes. Yet, if art is necessary to national welfare, if Indian art has stagnated and is now being, with effort, revitalized within rather narrow limits, then further endeavour is wanted. My appeal to the lovers of Indian art would be: take courage: by all manner of means be Indian: do not consciously imitate or derive: at the same time be open-minded and tolerant: watch movement elsewhere. It may be—I will concede it is likely—that your artists may react with a purifying and simplifying effect upon our diffuse and disintegrated painting in the West: but possibly—probably—they also have something yet to learn and to assimilate in their own way. At least do not make the comfortable mistake of wrapping yourselves up in your own virtue. Before now that has proved to be a garment that will not wear. Art lives in the hearts of men. The appeal made by Indian art is keen and clear, but on your own showing it is narrow. I believe that the need is to broaden its basis and to change with changing times. If India is going to hold her own in a competitive and diminishing world, she also must deliberately move forward. Is it, or is it not true—I at all events believe it—that the growth, the process, the development, the evolution, of human life is from the simple to the complex, from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous? If it is, then inevitably, infallibly, art—the faithful spontaneous ebullition of men's natural

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spare energies—will take the same line. We may reverence the virtues of the past : we may desiderate them sincerely and sadly : but if we have eyes, and courage to use our eyes, let us realize that we can never recapture the old virtues when once the life which inspired them has gone beyond recall.

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I thank you for the patient attention which you have given to a speaker who all along has known that his subject-matter is too high for him. I now declare this exhibition open.

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MR. CHAIRMAN, YOUR HIGHNESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—Not without much hesitation have I agreed to preside over this fourth All-India Music Conference, **January 9, 1925** though I greatly appreciate the honour implied in the invitation. I can claim no knowledge of music in general, still less of Indian music in particular. To my great regret, and his own also as well as yours, my esteemed friend, His Highness the Nawab of Rampur, who was to have been your president, has been prevented by urgent private reasons from carrying out his intention. My only excuse for deputizing for him is that I have, I hope, interest in æsthetic achievement, not merely in general but also as concerns this country. While I utterly disclaim any title to speak upon the technicalities of the art of music, I am, I trust, conscious of the great part which music can play in humanizing and enriching the life of a people.

Your music, I am told, has a long unbroken tradition; it has been described as running in a continuing stream, impersonal, single-purposed, self-forgetting. You trace its origin to the Vedas; and its main development on the theoretic side to the work of Hindu scholars. Yet some of its finest practitioners have been Musalmans. The artist whose name is most widely known through India was Tansen, musician at the court of Akbar, to whose memorial shrine in Gwalior the musical world of India still pays homage. Rai Rajeshwar Bali well said yesterday that art was good because it was a healer of differences: and the truth of his saying is shown by the way in which in this world of music, any discords of religion, race or sect have been drowned in a concord of sweet sounds.

But, if I mistake not, this ancient and honourable art has in these times fallen upon evil days. My colleague referred yesterday to a feature of modern India which disquieted him—the lack of interest in æsthetics shown by people who have received a

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good education and might be expected to appreciate and to encourage the arts. I gather that his complaint is as true of music as it is of painting. The practice of music has fallen nowadays into the hands of a special class, lacking social status or enlightenment, who cannot be expected to realize the potential wealth of their inheritance, and have not got it in their power to reclaim the art from its less reputable concomitants, to call forth all its latent virtues and to seat it again upon a throne of honour. You know the story how the court musicians who had just been cashiered by the austere Aurangzeb arranged a sham funeral procession and set up loud cries of lamentation. The emperor asked what the noise was all about, and they told him 'Music is dead and we are taking her to her grave'. 'Then mind you bury her deep' was his answer. I can imagine that a cultured lover of Indian music may sometimes feel that Aurangzeb's orders have in the sequel been only too effectually obeyed.

Surely it is sad that so noble an art should not be generally honoured and cultivated throughout the land. Of all arts music is the primal, the most instinctive and spontaneous expression of human emotion. Time and time again in history we read how music has brought out the inner soul of a people and encouraged them to lofty endeavour: we think of Tyrtæus, of the Welsh bards, of Highland pipers, of the Marseillaise. I remember being told by an old French tutor, who had served in the Franco-Prussian War, that 'God Save the King' (which he detested because of its Teutonic origin) always depressed him to the verge of tears, whereas when the Marseillaise was played the very horses on the parade ground started champing their bits and pawing the earth. Indeed we can hardly speak of music's power of playing on the human heart—its power of arousing, ennobling, cheering, comforting, healing and (it must be added) enervating and debasing also—without falling into some well-known quotation from the poets. I think hastily of Congreve, Dryden, Pope, Milton and *Twelfth Night*; but I suppress all their sentiments in favour of the profundity of meaning in Portia's saying: 'I am never merry when I hear sweet music'.

Elsewhere in the world, and especially on the continent of Europe, this capacity of music for developing the finer sensibilities

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of man is thoroughly appreciated ; and the study of the art in all its branches is highly developed and systematized. You find schools of music and opera houses in all large centres, concerts in every town of any size, an instrument of some kind in almost every home. Of late years new ingenious devices have lent their artful aid. The mechanical reproduction of music by means of gramophones and broadcasting may offend the purist ; but it must have done much for the musical education of many who without them would have indolently remained in outer darkness. There are phases of what passes for modern music about which, if I spoke at all, I should speak harshly. Nonetheless it comes near platitude to say that a wealth of music widely diffused, readily accessible, is an immense asset in the mental wealth and happiness of a people.

And to particularize, I suggest that music is the natural accomplishment of women all the world over, perhaps because their response to emotional stimulus is finer and readier than that of grosser-fibred men. For many of us I am sure, among the keenest pleasures of our lives has been listening to some simple song or instrumental music in our homes. It seems a tragedy that in this country social custom should practically have cut off women of the better classes from developing their natural gifts for music, and from contributing to the culture of their home-folk.

Let me give you one more reason why music should be treasured. I am told that your Vaishnavite literature is almost a series of lyrical rhapsodies in which the poet musician aspires to lose himself in the divine. But not in India alone, but as I believe everywhere in the world, has music been vitally associated with verse. It seems to be true that all poetry arose in the beginning out of music : that the first poets sang their words to the harp or some such instrument, and the first choruses sang as they danced ; from which simple fact we may trace the derivation of all the essential differences between poetry and prose. It is just because poetry is based on music—music which persuades through emotion, and not through reason—that the language of poetry is keyed higher than that of prose. Because of its association with music, poetry must have metre, which is beat ; it may or may not rhyme, but its rhythms and harmonies must strike the

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ear more audibly than those of prose ; even the order of its words will be different ; because these are the consequences, the modes of expression, of the emotional element which music has left as a legacy to verse. So long as music is disregarded and unhonoured in a country, there seems small hope for the future of its indigenous poetry.

I know much too little about music to attempt to touch upon differences between West and East : and that is why I have spoken of its essential values, which must, since all true art strikes deep down into the consciousness of men, under any variety of inflexion be the same. Let me only say that, ignorant as I am of Indian music, I am yet very glad to have had this opportunity of supporting your courageous efforts to resuscitate the art which you love. I congratulate you on the success which so satisfactory an attendance of musicians and lovers of music promises to yield. I can understand your pride in your heritage. I can respect your desire to see India make her own peculiar contribution to the common stock of art and beauty in the world, while remaining true to her own genius and abiding by her own honourable traditions.

CLOSING DURBAR OF ALIGARH FAIR

RAISES OF THE ALIGARH DISTRICT,—In all this province I do not think there is any other platform from which it gives me greater pleasure to address an audience than this. **February 12, 1925** Not only do I feel that I am speaking to an audience of old friends, but I am speaking also upon matters in which I took great interest when I was Collector here, and in a building which was erected in my time. I am delighted to hear from all quarters that the Aligarh exhibition has been unusually good this year. I confess that last year when I went to Bulandshahr and saw a very successful and thriving show there it depressed me to think that Aligarh was not holding its exhibition. But if last year there was a small cloud in the sky it has entirely disappeared now, and I believe that everybody has shown more zeal for the fair this year and also enjoyed it more because of its temporary suspension last year. I am looking forward with much interest to seeing the exhibition and the shops. I have already noted various improvements made since my time, especially the handsome gate built a short time ago by that benefactor of the district, Nawab Sir Muzammil-ullah Khan, and the two wings which have this year been added to the durbar hall and have so greatly improved its appearance. One of them was generously built by the Nawab Bahadur of Talibnagar and to the cost of the other the Nawab of Pahasu has promised a liberal donation. I am told there has been a great competition to rent the shops, from which I conclude that profits have been good. Certainly, when I look back fifteen years and remember how almost the entire fair was an erection of bamboo and thatch, and when I recall the disastrous fires which used to occur I think the district may justly be proud of the improvement which has been achieved since that time. And this has been due, no doubt, largely to the interest taken in the fair by a succession of district officers, partly to the talents and the energy of the capable secretary, but very largely also to the support and enthusiasm shown by the gentry of the district.

CLOSING DURBAR OF ALIGARH FAIR

I am glad to hear the number of horses in the show is so large and the quality so high. I hope that an Aligarh mare will again win the Viceroy's Cup in the Horse Show at Delhi. Now I have merely to tell you again of the pleasure it gives me to meet you again on this old familiar ground, and to find that an institution which I always believed in and enjoyed is in such a flourishing condition.

WAR MEMORIAL, ALIGARH

MR. CHAIRMAN, MR. FLOWERS AND GENTLEMEN,—A Governor of a province can have no more honourable function to fulfil than the inauguration of a memorial to those who gave their lives for the right cause in the greatest war in history. And for me to-day's ceremony has this additional interest, that the brave men whom this building commemorates came from the district which I know best in all the province. February 12, 1925

It did not fall to my lot to call forth the war-effort of the Aligarh district. I was on my way home in 1914 when I heard of the murder of the Austrian Archduke which was the spark that fired the train, and the little work that I did which had any direct relation to the war was done in the intervals of leave in England. But I have since my return to the United Provinces read with pride the review which Sir Harcourt Butler's Government published in 1919 of the contribution which this province made to the war in every form, in men, money and in supplies and material; and I am delighted to find that in the record Aligarh holds so honourable a place. I should indeed have been surprised had it been otherwise; for this and the neighbouring districts of Bulandshahr and Meerut have a traditional connection with military service: and the *raïses* of Aligarh have always been famous for their loyalty and high spirit: and no one could doubt that in a national emergency, when every one's help was needed if the cause of civilization was to be saved, they would come forth willingly and generously, as indeed they did. I will not repeat the names of all who distinguished themselves in the good cause. The list would be a long one. I will mention only, and no one will grudge the selection, three; first, the present Commissioner of Meerut who, I am glad to say, has just received the distinction of Companion of the Star of India, for he was your Collector when this district made its great effort; secondly, one who was a friend of us all, a true lover of the district and of peace, a good citizen, a composer of quarrels, one whom we could

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ill afford to lose, the late Mr. R. B. Kadri: and the third, the name of a much respected and straight-minded public servant, formerly my own chief reader, Munshi Sharafat Ullah, the quality of whose work is well known to me.

This building which I am to open is the creation of the surplus balance of the War League. I think that you have applied the money wisely. There could be no more appropriate way of commemorating men who faced pain and death to save others from it, than by doing something to help the cause of physical healing, and to fight the disease and suffering which is always in our midst. I am glad that in honouring the brave dead we are doing something also to benefit the living who need help. Now as a memorial of the great war and those of our friends who perished in it I declare these wards open; and I hope that they may continue to bring comfort to many for many generations to come.

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MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR AND MEMBERS OF THE COURT OF THE ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,—I thank you from my heart for the warmth of your welcome and for the appreciative terms in which you have referred **February 13, 1925** to me on this my first visit to the University as Governor of this province. I regard it as a high privilege to meet to-day the members of the Court, among whom I count many old friends who have done yeoman service, and to hear from them an account of the great services rendered in the past to the cause of Musalman education by the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College. The name of Sir Saiyid Ahmad will always be associated with the renaissance of Indian Musalmans after the mutiny. Sir Saiyid saw with the clear vision of a statesman how essential education was to the Muslim case. He saw also that if his educational endeavour was to be a success, its objects should be clearly defined and competent and devoted men should be found to achieve them. He himself visited the universities of Oxford and Cambridge and realised the part which they played in the development of higher studies in England. His Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College was meant to reproduce on Indian soil, with necessary modifications, the collegiate systems of the ancient seats of learning in England. With singular foresight Sir Saiyid chose for the first principal of the college the late Mr. Theodore Beck. No choice could have been happier. Beck's enthusiasm, his devotion to the interests of the college and his deep faith in the Musalmans of India rapidly made the college at Aligarh one of the foremost educational institutions in India. Round him were gathered a band of distinguished scholars such as Sir Theodore Morison, the late Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Thomas Arnold and Mr. Harold Cox. This is an inspiring roll of names. There could not have been better men to make Western learning attractive to Eastern minds, and, what is even more important, to demonstrate by example how cultured Englishmen could render imperishable service to the great

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Musalman community and to prepare it to take its proper share in the changing conditions of modern India. There is always a danger among an ancient people with a great and glorious past, and such are the Musalmans of India, to hark back, to distrust the present and to envisage the future with misgiving. The Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College was to be the potent means of casting out such doubts and forebodings. It warned the Musalmans not to go back nor yet to stand still, but to build up future greatness on the co-operation of the East and the West and through the adjustment of old traditions and beliefs to modern conditions.

This University has very recently received the honour of a visit from His Excellency the Viceroy, who addressed you upon the recent stresses and perils through which the College and University had passed and exhorted you eloquently to fulfil the visions of your founder. His Excellency's address has made it hard for me to find fresh things to say to you. I know that you do not want me to take refuge in the safety of mere platitudes. Platitudes are only a sonorous kind of silence. Well, let me take my text from the classical passage which you have quoted from the address to Lord Lytton, in which the origin of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College is directly traced to 'causes which the history of this country has never witnessed before': in which the benefits of British administration are heartily and generously acknowledged: and in which adherence to the ideals of good government and to the prolonged union of India with England are specifically set forth as the purposes of the founders. There have been times since then when there was a danger that the old friendship and mutual understanding between Musalmans and Englishmen, which Sir Saiyid and his college had done much to foster, might wane into suspicion and distrust. That danger, I believe, is past: I hope that it is past for ever.

Let me give you a few reasons for hoping that no English Government is likely to fail in sympathy for Indian Muslims. I trust that I shall not be misunderstood in any quarter, even by those gentlemen who will scrutinize my words under a microscope, in the hope to find wriggling among them the bacteria of partisanship. The Governor of a province if he does his duty is

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pro-nobody and pro-nothing except the welfare of the province. He is interested in the hopes and aspirations of all sections of the community without distinction and without fear or favour. Now in thinking over what you and we have in common, I have to admit that I cannot find affinities between us (as might be the case if I were addressing a different audience in this country) in any common ancestry however remote ; in any affinity of your sacred language with the ancient languages of the West ; in the similarity of thought which consanguinity of language may encourage ; or in the practical identity to this day of some of our commonest words of everyday usage. With you I must seek affinities quite different. Your sacred language, Arabic, splendid and scientific instrument that it is, is very remote in genius and structure from any speech of Europe. For Englishmen to come to any real knowledge of it means not merely hard work, but a sort of mental gymnastic too. But, sundered as we are, we have some deep-seated points of contact. The Muslim civilization lies geographically nearer to us than many of the old civilizations of Asia. Muslim captains and armies have fought their way far into Europe in the past. Muslim builders have left monuments which still command admiration. Saracen culture, as we all know, was a stimulating influence in the renaissance of thought in Europe. Some of our capes and rivers bear Muslim names. An edge of Europe is Muslim to this day. And as a young man from Europe for the first time approaches Asia he does so through a Muslim antechamber. His first impression of the Orient is derived from Egypt, that old seat of Muslim rule, Muslim in its names, its language, its mosques and largely in its population. For geographical reasons alone ten English children read at school of Salah-ud-din and Harun-al-Raschid or the stories of the *Alif Laila* for every one who reads of the other heroes or the other great epics or romances of Asia.

Then there is the sympathy engendered by historical memories. Your people came into this vast country in small numbers, and erected an empire. It culminated in the great administrative system of the Mughals and a flowering of artistic culture which took in no little of the spirit of its new Indian home ; and then, as as if bowed by years and infirmities, it crumbled, and there was no

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peace nor order in the land till another external power entered into its inheritance. You know Wordsworth's sonnet on Venice—'Once she did hold the gorgeous East in fee.' The sentiment with which that poem ends is deep in the hearts of men. Instinctively as we gaze on great ruins—Athens, Stonehenge, Karnak, Palmyra, Persepolis, Sanchi—we wish vainly that we could see them in their glory; the forums crowded, the courts and temples throbbing with life. With the same feelings one reads of the fall of empires, and sympathizes with nations and communities which have suffered eclipse, and encountered a fate which, for all we know, may, in the inscrutable purpose of Providence, yet await some which hold their heads high to-day.

There remains, of course, a stronger bond than any I have mentioned. There is the fact that your religion and ours are both derived from the same portion of Asia; that we both hold in high reverence a written embodiment of our belief and our moral code; and that Islam recognizes many of the leaders of religious effort whom Christian children are also taught to honour. So it comes about that a few of our most familiar and beautiful names—David, Mary—are also yours.

I believe that the Muslim feelings of alarm and suspicion against European Powers, which have been rising since the Tripolitan war, have been allayed by subsequent events; particularly by the open efforts of Lord Chelmsford and Lord Reading and of the late Mr. Montagu to mitigate sources of difference and to ensure that regard was paid to Indian Muslim feelings in the dealings of the great Powers. And once that it is so, once we get back to normal conditions, I put it to you that in these factors of creed, geography and history are strong ties which ought to sustain the abiding good relations between the Muslims of India and the people of England, which Sir Saiyid Ahmad and his friends deliberately aimed at fostering.

There have been many signs of late that the Muslim community are taking serious stock of their position. The wave of foreign politics, on which they have for some time been borne, has broken and spent its force. There is a lull, and men are asking themselves what course to steer. It would be presumptuous and foolish for any outsider to offer them counsel. But we may look on with

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interest and sympathy and try to put ourselves in their position. To the onlooker the choice seems to lie somewhere between two courses. The Musalmans of India are Indians and they are Muslims also. I have heard some men give preference to the one attribute, and some to the other. Is there or is there not any real divergence of interests between citizenship in the Indian commonwealth, and membership of an extra-national religious community? That is entirely a question for the Muslims of India to decide. If there is such divergence and a choice must be made, then they will surely ask themselves, Which capacity offers the Muslims of India the happier, safer, richer future? If there is no such ultimate divergence, it still seems necessary to consider how the community can best be stayed together against the intermittent stresses, which nevertheless must occasionally threaten its cohesion. To an onlooker these seem to be the great questions to which the best Muslim thought of the country should be devoted; for their solution will immensely affect the Muslim future.

It is because I hope and believe that Aligarh will play a large part in shaping Muslim destinies that I have deliberately travelled rather beyond the conventional lines of an academic address. Aligarh, when first I heard of it, might be described as the spear-head of the Muslim reform movement, polished, sharp, well-tempered. When I came to the United Provinces, Aligarh boys were almost recognizable at sight: they had a certain alertness and vigour, a discipline and courtliness that marked them out. Whenever there was a job of real work to be done, as on plague or famine, they were in real demand. A definite type had been evolved under the play of certain forces; the whole problem of production was in some ways easier than now. Compared with your present numbers, the Aligarh of those days was a small place. It drew its students from a narrower social stratum. Its pioneering character attracted teachers of remarkable charm and personality. There was time for more concentration on the individual, and for more personal contact between pupils and teachers than is possible in the stress and pressure of a great university.

We all have to change with changing times. What is best for one age may not suffice for another. The Muslims of India

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found — no doubt they found rightly — that it was no longer possible to meet the needs of the occasion by reliance on a *corps d'élite* of picked products. The doors of higher education must be thrown wider open; and a chance offered to all deserving boys and youths, however distant and however poor. That was a fine democratic aim; and it evoked a fine effort. The whole community responded; the rich gave of their wealth, the poor of their humble means; and the result was that in 1919 the hopes expressed in the address to Lord Lytton forty-two years before were fulfilled and your efforts were rewarded by the passing of the Muslim University Act. I am glad to remember that it fell to me to serve upon the Select Committee of the Indian Legislative Council which considered that Bill.

So it has come to pass that Aligarh is the seat of one of the four universities of the province, and draws its *alumni* from all over and beyond India. You have over 800 undergraduates on your rolls and over 1,100 students in the intermediate college and school. You are entitled to dwell with pride on the large share which you are taking in the provincial education; but, over and above all that, this Muslim University represents the most vigorous, the most advanced effort of enlightened Muslim opinion, and with its success are bound up the brightest hopes of a great community.

How heavy, then, is the burden which rests on those responsible for its administration. I need not assure you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen, with what deep interest the Government will always watch your labours. There are, we all know, some inherent dangers which, not here in Aligarh alone but in all universities, attend the effort, the praiseworthy, determined, necessary effort, to expand rapidly the sphere of higher education. There is the recurring problem of men and of money. Education has a way of growing by what it feeds on, and still asking for more; your long list of needs is proof of it. Above all, there is the unsleeping problem of sustaining quality while providing quantity. As Chancellor of the Allahabad and Lucknow Universities, I cannot help knowing enough of my Vice-Chancellors' anxieties, to infer that you in Aligarh may have yours as well. Happily, it is easy for even a layman to know when a university

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is in health or otherwise by certain infallible signs. Harmony and concord in the managing body ; a clear division of labour between head and hand, I mean between the deliberating bodies and the executive officials ; a secure and contented staff ; discipline left to the executive, and not so much enforced upon the students as accepted by them as a necessary condition of healthy work ; and a firm maintenance of academic ideals as regards qualifications for admission, standards for passes, and provision for research—given these conditions, you have nothing to fear. Success is certain, and all the blessings that success means to the Muslim community are certain too. Everyone who knows Aligarh admires it for two main things : the example and character of its founder, and the way in which since his time many heads and hands have devotedly contributed to the good cause which he led. Gentlemen, much has been done, but much remains to do. You may well be proud to look upon these fine buildings, range after range ; and the sight may well encourage your resolve to complete them. It is natural for you to ask Government to help you, and we shall anxiously consider your request. I acknowledge the claims, eloquently urged in your address, which this seat of learning has upon the attention of Government by reason of its pioneer and exemplar character. But no one knows so painfully well as Government its incapacity to respond to all the calls upon it. If Providence would only treat Government as well as Government treats some aided institutions—that is to say, if it would give us an extra rupee for every rupee of revenue which we raise—then (even in the absence of the Finance Committee and the Legislative Council) I could safely promise not only the Muslim University, but all sorts of other deserving causes, that they should have a golden time. Moreover (though I apologise for reiterating something that I have often said already), you will remember that the powers of a Governor to-day in relation to any question of expenditure are very different from those of a Lieutenant-Governor in the old days. There are the Finance Committee and the Legislative Council to be considered and convinced. In any event, however, the bulk of the burden must inevitably fall on you. There is no other policy for people who have leeway to make up but combination and continued

ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY

endeavour. It is hard, but it is ennobling. 'The prize is a great one, and the hope is high.' The effort alone is worth much; those who make it are the better for having done so.

With deep pleasure I have heard the names of your past and present benefactors; I hope that their example may inspire others: and for evidence of the earnestness of my intentions my Private Secretary will send your Treasurer the sum of Rs. 500 in memory of this occasion. I wish you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, gentlemen and students, all imaginable success; and that I say in all sincerity, speaking as one who has known Aligarh closely for some fifteen years and admired the growth and expansion which has occurred in that time; one who can honestly claim to be a well-wisher of your people and your university—and finally as one who has seen many other heads of the province standing in this place, and certainly never dreamed of having the honour of occupying it conferred on himself also.

Whether as a personal friend and sympathizer, or whether as Governor of this province—and I am proud of either position—let me give you this concluding message, and with this preface:

Zi-dil khezad, ba-dil rezad.

I believe intensely that the need of the moment in India is the growth of the spirit of toleration. I believe also that the beginning of toleration is sound learning. Prejudice, narrow views, selfish intolerance are weeds that flourish in no depth of soil. But the richer crop demands the deeper cultivation. The more cultured a man is the more he realizes that there are other points of view beside his own, and the more earnestly he tries to understand them. If higher education were ever to become a whetstone of communal or religious differences, it would be false to its real self, and no longer deserve our confidence and regard. I would have your graduates go out to the world none the less good Muslims, because they are also missionaries of religious and intellectual tolerance, servants of the true freedom which respects the rights of others and makes men to pray about her:

That her fair form may stand and shine
Make bright our days and light our dreams,
Turning to scorn with lips divine
The falsehood of extremes.

RECOGNITION DAY, CHRISTIAN COLLEGE, LUCKNOW

DR. CHITAMBAR, AND MEMBERS OF THE STAFF AND STUDENTS
OF THE LUCKNOW CHRISTIAN COLLEGE,—I told you, Mr. Principal, when you were good enough to invite me to be present to-day, that you must not expect a **February 23, 1925** set speech. I have delivered too many addresses lately on educational or quasi-educational topics to have anything very fresh left in me to produce. But one or two things I must say. No one can be Governor of an Indian province long without realizing the immense influence that higher education is going to have in moulding India's future. The need for expanding and improving our university and collegiate education is being more and more understood every day by all classes and communities. I admire the vast amount of voluntary effort which is being dedicated to the task. Now, prominent among the qualities which gives virtue to university education is the quality of universality. In the true university all kinds of culture should meet and mingle, and stimulate each other. To my mind, therefore, it is all to the good that a college like yours, bearing a perfectly definite impression, the impression of American Methodism, should have become an integral part of our composite university centre here in Lucknow. You have a distinctive contribution to make to the university and collegiate life of this place—a contribution drawn from the colleges and churches and homes of the United States of America. The life and thought of America is something different from that of the rest of the world. I will not attempt to analyze the forces—natural, physical, historical—which have shaped it ; but we all recognize it as in some ways younger, fresher, more alert and more adventurous than that of many of the older nations. Of all countries America, perhaps, has her eyes most firmly fixed upon the future and is more confident than most about the future. I think that the contact of culture derived from American sources with the ancient cultures and civilizations of Asia must be stimulating and fructifying.

RECOGNITION DAY, CHRISTIAN COLLEGE, LUCKNOW

However this be, it is my duty as Governor to acknowledge gratefully the great service which your people have done for the education of the inhabitants of this province ; the generosity with which your home benefactors have supplied funds for this high enterprise ; the devoted personal service which the members of the staff here have given to the cause ; and the fine spirit which animates your college and schools.

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BALIKA VIDYALAYA, CAWNPORE

GENTLEMEN OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE BALIKA
VIDYALAYA, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

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Of the importance of female education to the future of India many people before me have spoken, and I myself have spoken before now. I will only say this, that education as we meet it in schools and colleges is after all **March 9, 1925** only a part—indeed, only the preliminary part—of education in real life. So long as intelligence persists, the process of education continues through life; in the courts, in the markets, in business dealings and in private friendships, and perhaps most of all in our own houses and homes. Herein lies the importance of educating the future wives of India. A cultured wife doubles the interests of life for her husband because he sees events and opinions reflected in her mind also; he benefits by contact with her brains and knowledge and intelligence, as she by his. And if that is so, must it not also be the case that with a wholly unlettered wife a man who has himself enjoyed a college education is in some danger of feeling his culture atrophy? That is why it is vitally important for all who wish to see India intellectually and culturally sound to press on with the education of its girls as well as boys. We all know the difficulties in the way; I will not pause to enumerate them; but in the end courage and perseverance will surely overcome them.

Gentlemen, you have told me of your needs and hopes. You probably know precisely what I shall say in reply. We have done something substantial for you already. If we can do more we shall be glad to do it. I have no doubt that my educational advisers are thoroughly interested in the welfare of so promising an enterprise as yours. You may feel perfectly sure that when you address us—whether about financial help or about new space for expansion—you will be addressing a sympathetic audience, willing to help if we can. And having said that, obviously I must

BALIKA VIDYALAYA, CAWNPORE

say no more, unless indeed I advise you to pray this year for a good monsoon and abundant revenues and freedom from calamities, physical or otherwise ; in fact, for all the conditions which make it easier, or at all events less difficult, for a Government to give.

TAKMIL-UT-TIBB, LUCKNOW

HAKIM SAHIB, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE MANAGING COMMITTEE,—

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It is not easy for anyone who has been brought up on the traditions of one kind of medicine to do full justice to another kind which is strange to him and of which he has made no study. But I know that Unani medicine **March 13, 1925** has had a long history, a widespread practice behind it and honoured names on its roll. It is obvious, too, from the large number of patients which have sought and found relief in your hospital, that it ministers to a real need. It is highly creditable to the founder and to his two sons that this humane and beneficent enterprise should have been carried so far mainly on their individual efforts. I have been much impressed by what I have seen in my brief inspection. I have seen evidence of method, thoroughness, science and enthusiasm. I am also glad to know that you are by no means merely carrying on along the time-worn lines. You are seeking to improve the system, to find out up-to-date methods, and to impart a knowledge of anatomy, and other sciences. I believe this policy to be thoroughly sound. Medicine, whether of the East or West, is a form of a human knowledge; and knowledge, being a non-material, organic thing, if it is to live at all, must grow. Your idea of fostering the good relations between *hakims* and doctors, which have been so friendly since the beginnings of this college, so that through an exchange of ideas each may understand the other better, is also welcome.

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Like all healthy and expanding institutions, you need more money and more space. I understand that the latter question is even now before the Government, but as it has not reached me I can say nothing definite about it. But, following the example of Sir Harcourt Butler, I will make a small donation to your funds;

TAKMIL-UT-TIBB, LUCKNOW

and I commend your appeal for money to all liberally-minded people.

I wish all success to those students who have completed their term of tuition here, and I hope that their skilful services may be of vast benefit and blessing to many thousands of patients; and win as much respect and confidence as it is evident that many of their predecessors have done.

GANGA PRASAD VARMA MEMORIAL, LUCKNOW

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I thank you cordially for having bidden me here to-day to perform the opening ceremony of the Ganga Prasad Varma Memorial. It is truly a sound instinct that bids us honour **March 14, 1925** distinguished men who have left us, men who have served the public interest honourably and devotedly, by instituting some permanent and tangible memorial for their name ; and if we can do so in a form which we believe would have been acceptable to him whom we seek to honour, our satisfaction in the task is doubled. Such double satisfaction, as you have made clear, is ours to-day. You could not have chosen a more appropriate form in which to conserve the memory of Rai Bahadur Munshi Ganga Prasad Varma than in constituting this beautiful and useful addition to the public buildings and to the amenities of the city which he loved well.

Unfortunately, I cannot speak to you as one who had the advantage of knowing Munshi Ganga Prasad personally. My connexion with Lucknow began only after his death. But no one, however distant from this city, who took any interest in the development of the public life of the province, could fail to hear of or to admire his activities ; and many of my friends, who have since done much to acquaint me with the progress and improvement of this great city, have made me realize to how large an extent he was the pioneer of its modern advancement. He was, as you say, transparently sincere and gifted with rare commonsense. He had the vision to see that the Lucknow of the future must have its wide roads and open places. What is more, he carried the public with him ; so that slums, which were a dark feature in the city, disappeared and order and seemliness succeeded. Changes in an urban area always excite opposition from the vested interests which they are bound to encounter. But I believe it is true to say that Munshi Ganga Prasad Varma, as

GANGA PRASAD VARMA MEMORIAL, LUCKNOW

senior Vice-chairman of the Lucknow Municipal Board, carried through the great improvements which he effected (particularly the Aminabad and Aminuddaula parks) with the minimum of friction and the maximum of patient and tactful conciliation. For we must remember that the work was done with very limited powers of compulsion. There was in those days no Town Improvement Act. Rai Bahadur Ganga Prasad had to educate and persuade. Strongly imbued with the civic spirit himself, he had also the rarer faculty of inspiring his fellow-townsmen with it. For these achievements Lucknow owes him a great debt.

You have spoken also of his political career. I have always heard of him as a frank and honest public man, a man whose criticisms were never tinged with bitterness and often tempered by the frank recognition of what was good in the existing system. Firm in pursuing his views and yet not obstinate, he could appreciate the other side of an argument without being overborne by the difficulty of taking a decision. He was a public man of a character whom we can ill spare to-day ; a man of whom not only the city of Lucknow but the province also may be justly proud, and whom we do right to honour. As was written of him at the time of his lamented death, 'in a word, there was nothing that was good of which he was not an active and a self-sacrificing supporter ; there was no good cause which does not suffer greatly by his passing away'. He suffered personal and family bereavements, but never allowed them to interrupt his public work, and by common consent he was a deeply spiritual man, informed and uplifted by a truly religious spirit. Indeed, his piety and the obligations of Hindu family life are attested by the *dharamshala* close by, which you have mentioned.

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I think you are wise in making the ideal of study the keynote of your new library. The amount of constructive work to be done in this country is enormous, and it is right that there should be available, to those who are called upon to attempt it, a large, well-found library consisting largely of historical, economic, scientific and political literature, embodying the experience of the practical workers and thinkers of previous ages, on which the

GANGA PRASAD VARMA MEMORIAL, LUCKNOW

workers of to-day and of the future may draw for enlightenment and inspiration. I trust that the Ganga Prasad Varma Memorial Hall and Library will serve this high purpose for many days to come, and I now have great pleasure in declaring it open.

BABY WEEK EXHIBITION, NAJIBABAD

GENTLEMEN OF THE DUFFERIN COMMITTEE,—I thank you for welcoming me here and for giving me the privilege of opening your baby week exhibition.

March 16, 1925 Your address reveals some of the difficulties which Dufferin work has encountered in Bijnor. I am a little surprised to find that so important a form of public service should not have enlisted more strongly the sympathies of your district board. There may be factors at work of which I have no knowledge. I do know, of course, that local bodies have their own troubles, and that the problem of finding money for all that needs to be done is always with them. I know also that it is very difficult to balance the claims of one kind of service against another; and yet, when we remember the immense importance to the people of this or any district of providing skilled medical attendance for its wives and mothers, especially in connexion with child-bearing, it seems doubtful whether the board are really wise in leaving the initiative in this matter so largely to a few private philanthropists. I am inclined to say that if it became, for example, a question of diverting money from the medical relief of men to that of women, that there are sound reasons for such diversion. Private practitioners are becoming available in increasing numbers for the treatment of men, but this is not the case with women. Women in this country are not yet in a position to plead their own cause effectively whether as regards education or medical relief; and meantime a minority of far-sighted, generous-minded men must do it for them. All the more credit to those gentlemen named in your address who have shouldered the burden in this district. I applaud their public spirit and I am very glad to hear of the measure of success attained.

It is certainly encouraging that two of your municipalities are active along the lines described. I hope that others will follow their lead. I hope that your ideal of having a lady doctor in each tahsil and trained *dais* in every municipal and town area will ere long be attained. Here comes in the value of the baby week

BABY WEEK EXHIBITION, NAJIBABAD

movement, which I am heartily glad that you have adopted. I need hardly enlarge on the importance of this work. In India at the present time over a quarter, sometimes nearly one-third, of the babies born perish within the year. In some towns the figure is as high as one-half. That is a terrible indictment of social sanitary conditions, when we see from actual statistics that in healthier circumstances three out of four of those dead children would be saved. In England forty years ago the ratio of deaths was one in six ; but in less than a generation that ratio has been halved. There is urgent need for a campaign of enlightenment: to teach the mischiefs of early marriage and of bad food and housing, the need for care during pregnancy, for skilled treatment at delivery, and avoidance of the terrible mistakes which ignorance, superstition or custom engender. Surely it is not necessary to argue the value of physical health as a factor in national life. Education can do much: industry and art and science, every form of national development, are valuable in their place; but man must live before he can function, and all these other activities depend for any measure of success upon the measure of our victory in this initial battle.

I believe that this movement is, on all counts, a praiseworthy one, and that it has come to stay. In some of the large centres of this province—notably Allahabad and Bareilly—a most promising beginning has been made. I hope that you will set up a welfare centre somewhere in this district, where a trained health visitor will be available to instruct mothers on the proper precautions, both before and at child-birth, and the proper care of the baby when born. Such a centre, with its facilities for watching growth, advising about food, detecting the beginnings of illness, and providing the tendance which an uneducated mother in a poor home cannot give, will be of incalculable value to the well-being of the next generation.

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CORONATION HINDU SCHOOL, MORADABAD

GENTLEMEN OF THE HINDU EDUCATION SOCIETY, MORADABAD,—

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There never was a time when the desire for education in this province was stronger, or the effort to promote it more widespread ; and it is no mean achievement to have provided **March 23, 1925** the means of instruction, and the chance of rising in the world for another 250 or 300 boys of a big city like this. I am sure that you are wise in associating religious with secular instruction, and in aiming at the formation of character as much as the production of scholars. But I need not remind you that it is by no means sufficient to build and to equip a school. The more difficult task—because it is a task demanding not vigorous and dramatic effort, but quiet continuous vigilance—is to maintain a school in a condition of health and efficiency. I have been looking through recent inspection reports on the work of this school. Many of the criticisms related to deficiencies inseparable from your old building on the former site ; and these are now happily removed. The inspector also dwells on the importance of improving the salaries of the staff so as to attract and retain trained men. I am sure that his advice is sound. The teachers in an aided high school ought to be in a position to give their full energies to the work of the school, without being under the necessity of supplementing their income by private tuition. And, if I may here repeat what I have said elsewhere, it is my conviction that you will be wise not to leave the teaching of the lower classes entirely to the lesser trained and less highly paid staff. Well begun is half done. The work in Classes III and IV is the foundation of all that follows, and you would be wise to put some of your best men on to it. I note with pleasure that the inspector gives full credit to the headmaster and his staff for having done their best in the past under considerable disadvantages. While

CORONATION HINDU SCHOOL, MORADABAD

he would like to see more imagination and less standardization of ideas, he gives the tuitional staff full credit for one solid virtue—a virtue which is perhaps the basis of all other virtues in teaching—the virtue of thoroughness. He writes, ‘This is one of the few schools that insists on homework being properly done’. He notes that written work was neat and duly corrected and that teachers’ criticisms had been attended to. That is satisfactory evidence of application and thoroughness, upon which I congratulate the staff. If they have attained it under the old depressing conditions in which they worked, there is every hope that they may succeed still further now.

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PROROGATION OF THE UNITED PROVINCES LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, LUCKNOW

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF THE UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH,—

April 3, 1925

I have come here to congratulate you all upon the termination of another toilsome session; to thank you for the public work which you have accomplished; and to wish you God-speed until you re-assemble. Your work in this chamber is done under adverse conditions of climate, acoustics, and ventilation. Meanwhile I watch with interest your future and more dignified habitation arising day by day. I have indeed been engaged this morning in inspecting the progress of the works, and I hope that if I am still here two years hence I may have the great satisfaction of installing you formally in the new chamber.

I am grateful to the Legislative Council for reposing such confidence in my Government, Members and Ministers, as to furnish them with the financial resources necessary to conduct the administration during the current year. It is a matter of great satisfaction to us, as to you, that a portion at least of the heavy burden which has hitherto lain upon the province, in the form of the financial contribution to the Government of India, has at last been taken away.

In addition to the important financial work of the session, the Council has passed one measure of much moment, the Oudh Courts Bill. I am very pleased to think that a project which has been so near the hearts of the people of this part of the province for a long time has come to completion; and I heartily congratulate my honourable colleague, the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad (who is unfortunately indisposed to-day), on seeing his hopes fulfilled during his fifth year of office.

The fact that another notable figure also is not in his seat to-day, but indeed already some hundreds of miles off on his way

UNITED PROVINCES LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

to England for a well-earned rest, makes it easier for me to bear testimony to his invaluable services than if he were here. I am sure there is no member of this Council who has not admired the consummate skill, the unfailing tact and good temper, with which Mr. O'Donnell has discharged the heavy duties falling upon him in this legislature.

This is probably the last occasion on which I shall find myself occupying this dais in juxtaposition to your present President. After to-day he will, I understand, appear before you only to make his parting bow, and to induct his successor. That will be the occasion for the Council itself to signify its own appreciation of his work. But, speaking on behalf of the Government, I am anxious to make our acknowledgments now. It is not too much to say that if during the past four years the Legislative Council of the United Provinces has won a high place among the provincial legislatures of India for dignity, sobriety and businesslike methods (as indeed I am confident that it has), the credit therefor is, in a large measure, due to Mr. Keane. He has guided your proceedings not merely with impartiality (for that quality is too fundamental to call for special praise), but with great skill and understanding ; also he has known how to maintain authority, without ever failing in patience or perception. Many members of the Council may momentarily have endured correction at his hands ; but I am sure that none of them have felt aggrieved at it. In this complex constitution under which we live, Government and legislature are required, within certain definite limits, to work together for the good of the people of the province. Those limits have not yet been breached in the United Provinces ; they have, I believe, not even chafed too grievously either of the co-operating parties. Among the various factors which have contributed to that fortunate result I give a high place to the quiet, tactful, unremitting efforts of your President during the past four years, to promote the dignity and to develop the parliamentary aptitude of this legislature ; and, in the name of the Government, I tender him my warmest thanks and congratulations. And, gentlemen, when the time comes for you to elect Mr. Keane's successor, I beg you to bear in mind the gravity of the matter, and, regardless of party or personal preferences, to

UNITED PROVINCES LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

select for the high office of occupying the President's chair the man who in your conviction is most capable of sustaining and developing the traditions of order, reason and courtesy which Mr. Keane has so successfully inaugurated here.

I will conclude even as I did last year. May this new financial year be one of continued peace and prosperity to this province which we all serve. Now, gentlemen, on behalf of Government, I thank you for your public labours and I declare that this Council is prorogued with effect from the close of to-day's session until such date as will, in due course, be announced.

MEMORIAL AT NAINI TAL TO MEMBERS OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE KILLED IN THE WAR

It is to me a high honour to have been asked, by those responsible for it, to unveil a memorial tablet in this church to three civilian soldiers who gave their lives in the war.

June 7, 1925

I do not think it necessary for me to speak more than a word or two. Every man who has not soldiered himself feels, I hope, too humble to have any wish to be voluble in speaking of those who fell. Moreover, the thoughts that come most readily to the mind have already been expressed so excellently in the fine hymn, which has just been sung, that I am reluctant to mar the effect of its moving lines by any imperfect tribute of my own.

This office of rendering respect to fallen soldiers has ere now called forth imperishable sayings from the great poets of all ages. Let me quote one verse from what is perhaps the finest English poem which the war produced—a verse not wholly unworthy to be set beside the great epitaphs of the past :

They shall not grow old, as we who are left grow old ;
Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn.
At the going down of the sun and in the morning
We will remember them.

ODUH CHIEF COURT, LUCKNOW

MR. CHIEF JUDGE, JUDGES AND GENTLEMEN,—The ceremony which I have now the honour to perform marks the end of a long chapter of schemes and discussions. It is over forty years since the question was first asked whether the character of the Judicial Commissioner's court should not be organically changed. Sir Alfred Lyall was the first Lieutenant-Governor who sought to answer that question by establishing in Lucknow a divisional bench of the High Court of the North-Western Provinces. From the very outset there ensued a contest of opinion between those who disliked any territorial distribution of the High Court's work, and those who felt that Oudh opinion would never acquiesce in the complete transfer of the judicial business of the province to Allahabad. Even in the year 1887 the latter opinion prevailed. But the Secretary of State found that it would be difficult to get through Parliament the Bill which would be needed in order to set up a divisional bench of the High Court, and, preferring an alternative course which did not require parliamentary legislation, he put forward for the first time the suggestion that a Chief Court of two judges should be established in Oudh.

It has taken thirty-six years for that suggestion to mature. The Government of India at that time preferred to expand the Judicial Commissioner's court, and Sir Auckland Colvin was unable to persuade them to the contrary. Sir Antony MacDonnell, after giving much attention to the subject between the years 1896 and 1901, revived the idea of a divisional bench of the High Court in Lucknow. The Government of India agreed in theory, but were deterred by the practical difficulties ; and, as a result, the appointment of a second additional Judicial Commissioner was sanctioned. This appointment was made permanent in 1905 ; and from that time onward until 1919 the recurrent discussions of the question always ended in the conclusion that a permanent solution should be deferred until the public of both provinces demanded a

ODUH CHIEF COURT, LUCKNOW

change and there was complete agreement as to the form which the change should take.

Before I review the process which has brought the Chief Court into being, let me summarize briefly the view taken of the question which, up to 1919 or thereabouts, was held not only by most administrators and judicial officers, but by a large section of the public as well. It was then regarded as anomalous and wrong in principle to have two supreme courts in one administrative area. That arrangement was held to involve a dissipation of strength both on the bench and at the bar. At the same time, the amalgamation of the High Court either at Allahabad or Lucknow was regarded as impossible. Oudh would never agree to all its cases going to Allahabad. The transfer of the High Court from Allahabad would be similarly resented: it would raise other troublesome questions; and by 1915 at all events the decision to build a new and costly High Court building at Allahabad made that particular solution impossible. No one was enthusiastic about the expedient of a divisional bench in Lucknow. Those who accepted it did so as a *pis aller*. The judges feared that the arrangement would be inconvenient to work; others thought that the divisional bench might grow into a separate court, and so impede amalgamation; others looked upon it as a mere expedient hardly worthy of Lucknow or Oudh. At the same time, the solution of having a Chief Court had, outside Lucknow itself, but few friends. It was regarded as needlessly expensive, as presenting an additional barrier to the ultimate amalgamation which was thought to be the ideal solution, and as not materially altering the existing situation, and involving some of the disadvantages attaching to the Judicial Commissioner's court. In view of these difficulties, the line of least resistance continued to be pursued.

How has it happened that the outlook and opinions of the preceding thirty-five years have been reversed in the last five? The seed of change was certainly sown in a resolution moved in the Legislative Council, in April, 1919, by Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra; but, with all deference to the excellence of his arguments and the eloquence of his advocacy, I doubt if these alone would have prevailed. I know too that the Chief Court scheme had the advantage of being supported by Sir Harcourt Butler, with his

OUDH CHIEF COURT, LUCKNOW

great sympathy with Oudh and his great knowledge of Oudh conditions. I know that my honourable colleague, the Maharaja of Mahmudabad, has been untiring in his efforts to bring the court into existence. I note also that Agra opinion, evidenced in a speech of Mr. Chintamani and a resolution of the United Provinces Political Conference of 1919, generously supported the proposal. But there were still lions in the path—the dislike of a tribunal intermediate between the Judicial Commissioner's court and the High Court, and the fear of impeding ultimate amalgamation of the provincial judiciary. I affirm without hesitation that the driving force which put the scheme through was the force of the reforms of 1920, which invested the voice of the Legislative Council with new authority, and altered the balance between the claims of theoretical perfection and those of day-to-day practice. In some quarters (though, perhaps, not so often as a while ago) it is still alleged that the reforms are a sham. If answer were needed to that untrue assertion, here is at least one answer—in the birth of the Chief Court of Oudh. It is none other than a child of the much-decried reforms inaugurated by the late Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford.

Now, before we break finally with the past, it is right that we do justice to the expiring court of the Judicial Commissioner of Oudh. A court which has included in the past such eminent figures as Mr. Deas, Mr. Ross Scott, Sir Edward Chamier, Sir Sundar Lal and Sir Theodore Piggott—to name only those judges who are serving in India no longer—of course stands in no need of apology. The case for change has never rested on the ground that the judges of the Judicial Commissioner's court were inefficient or unlaborious. On the contrary, their competence was acknowledged; their industry was beyond praise. They have had to deal with some of the most burdensome and complicated litigation which, I suppose, ever came before a court of justice; and they have discharged their onerous duty in a way which has commanded admiration. The Chief Judge has referred with just pride to the reception of the Judicial Commissioner's judgments by their Lordships of the Privy Council. The desire for a superior court arose out of the conditions under which they worked. With the development of the province there came an

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increasing desire to assimilate procedure in Oudh to that of the High Court at Allahabad, to see intricate appeals referred to a bench of judges, and to provide a special procedure for taluqdari suits. These aspirations could only be satisfied by a change in the constitution and powers of the court. In bidding a final farewell to the court of the Judicial Commissioner of Oudh, it is right that I express on behalf of the executive government of the province our thanks, both to the present incumbents of office and to their predecessors, for the admirable way in which their responsible task has been performed.

It remains for me to congratulate the province of Oudh upon the fruition of its long-felt desire. I have every confidence that the establishment of this higher tribunal of justice will contribute to the happiness of the people by giving them a better equipped and more exalted instrument for the decision of their legal disputes, and for the vindication of any of them who may have been wronged. In particular, I hope that the investment of the Chief Court with original civil jurisdiction—an innovation which has had to run the gauntlet of some criticism—may abundantly justify itself in the speedier and cheaper determination of taluqdari suits. I need hardly remind you, gentlemen, what an incubus these have been upon the prosperity of the province. There are times when, reading the history of some of the litigation over estates in Oudh, I have been tempted to congratulate myself that I was not an Oudh taluqdar. As was said on one occasion by this Government, ‘The existence of large landed properties governed by special laws, and the peculiar importance to the taluqdars of questions of succession have in practice made Oudh far more subject than the province of Agra to false suits on title. There is hardly any estate in Oudh the holder of which has not at some time been compelled to defend his title in protracted litigation, and recently three of the largest estates have been put in jeopardy in this way. The peculiarities of the Oudh Estates Act, admittedly a peculiarly difficult Act to construe, have furnished special opportunities for litigation of this character.’ Happily, we have as Chief Judge of the new court an officer who is not merely entirely familiar with provincial conditions, not merely a personal friend of many of you, but also, as his work

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upon the Civil Justice Committee has shown, an ardent champion of simplicity and efficiency and a sworn enemy of all the cobwebs, complications and inequities which have crept into the judicial system of this country. If under his guidance the Oudh Chief Court can do something effectual to strike at the abuses of champerty and maintenance—that speculative traffic in legal proceedings—which are so vividly exposed in Chapter 43 of the committee's report, the new institution will have abundantly justified its propagation. Further, to touch for one moment upon a point to which the Chief Judge has most reasonably referred, I may say that the Government are only too well aware of the deficiencies of the Oudh judicial buildings, and will not lose sight of the necessity for improving them when possible.

Finally, and as a matter between friends, I congratulate the Maharaja of Mahmudabad on witnessing to-day the completion of a project on which his heart has been so sincerely set, and for the furtherance of which he has so earnestly laboured. At this point let me read to you a message which I have received from my predecessor in office, Sir Harcourt Butler: 'I congratulate Your Excellency and Your Excellency's Government, and especially the Hon. Maharaja of Mahmudabad, on the successful completion of a reform which settles a long-standing difficulty in a manner satisfactory to all parties, and which inaugurates a new and progressive era in the judicial administration of the province. I earnestly hope that the Chief Court, ably presided over by Mr. Justice Stuart, will add to the contentment and prosperity of my old and kind friends, the people of Oudh.' You will also be glad to hear the courteous message of greeting which the Chief Judge has received from the Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court: 'The Judges of the High Court at Allahabad send all good wishes for the prosperity and success of the Chief Court.'

Gentlemen, the inauguration of a new chief court of justice which affects over twelve millions of people is no ordinary occasion. The law and the judicial system, like all human institutions, have their imperfections; and harsh things have in their time been said about them. But on an occasion like this it is right and wise to fix our eyes upon the dignity and nobility of the law. I need not apologize to you for quoting what Lord

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Coleridge described as the finest tribute ever accorded to law—a tribute pronounced by the 'judicious Hooker' three hundred years ago :

Of Law there can be no less acknowledged than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world. All things in Heaven and Earth do her homage : the very least as feeling her care, the greatest as not exempted from her power.

May that majestic utterance be an inspiration to all those who are honoured with the task of administering law and justice in this new Chief Court of Oudh.

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DURBARIS OF THE PROVINCE OF ODDH,—It was not without anxious consideration that I decided to hold this durbar. Times are changing in India; and I had to ask myself **November 3, 1925** whether, in view of the new system of government presented by the reforms, there was any longer reason enough for the Governor to invite the nobility and gentry of the province to meet him in formal assembly; whether it were not better that the Governor should express the views and the policy of his Government only through the established channels of the legislature; and whether the old and honoured ceremony of the durbar should not henceforth be reserved for wholly special occasions, like the visit of Royalty and the Viceroy. But this was not the view of those whom I consulted. They believed that there were still real advantages in the practice by which the Governor occasionally sought an opportunity of assembling and directly addressing the notables of the province. And they pointed out to me that the durbars held by my two predecessors had been of great value in stimulating the immense effort which these provinces made in men and money during the Great War.

We are, thank God, at war no longer. But it has been borne in upon me during three years of office that we are indubitably engaged in a great struggle of another kind, the end of which no man can foresee; and I thought that if words of mine could do anything to arouse the sympathies and bestir the energies of those of you who are the natural leaders of the countryside, there would be abundant justification for holding to-day's ceremony, and putting before you my ideas upon the most important problems of the present time. I am satisfied that in taking this course I am transcending in no way the limitations imposed on me by my office. What I shall say does not represent conclusions arrived at by my Government, nor does it commit my Ministers. What it does represent is the result of my personal reflections: and any suggestions which my speech embodies are put forward in the hope of eliciting discussion.

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Let us start from the fact that we have for five years been trying in this province to work a system of government which to a large extent admits the representative principle, and which aims at the extension of that principle and eventually at its entire predominance. You know what I mean. It is accepted policy that the actions of Government are ultimately to be decided, not by the wishes of the people of Great Britain as expressed through the Secretary of State, not according to the expert views of the trained administrator, whether Indian or European, but according to the wishes of the individual affected by them. In England we should call him the man in the street. Here we ought to call him the man in the village; because although we have a number of large cities, yet ninety-seven per cent of the people and ninety-one per cent of the registered voters, or fourteen voters out of every fifteen, reside in villages. The constitution, therefore, vests the direction of the affairs of this big province ultimately in the hands of the village voter. That is a most important fact, the significance of which is for the time being obscured from us by various films: the survival, still in strength, of the official administrative system; and the facts that interest in politics has not yet permeated the villages of the province, that public opinion is still formed and expressed in the towns, and that (though I know many patriotic people deny this) there is, as I think, a gap in economic interest, and therefore to some extent in sympathy and understanding, between town and country. The countryside still lacks organization, save such as is afforded by the existence of large estates to which the tenants and labourers are attached. There is no immediate prospect of the rural voter suddenly coming forward to play the predominant part in politics which the constitution ultimately assigns to him; and therefore we do not perceive him as potentially, or indeed as conceivably, master of the situation.

Nonetheless, unless one's reading of history is absolutely wrong, nothing is surer than this, that, if the present scheme progresses—and amid all our uncertainties we have no conclusive reason for assuming that it will not progress—the transfer of power from the classes which at present enjoy it to the rural voter is only a question of time. Ignorance, poverty, disorganiza-

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tion may delay the process; but they will never stay it in the long run. The popular principle is instinct with life, and once the seed is sown it will not be denied growth. Our legislature is at present mainly composed of professional men and landlords. I do not say that the status of the representatives will necessarily change: it is nearly everywhere the case that parliamentary representatives are drawn predominantly from the classes most conversant with business and most apt in discussion; but I certainly do say that, whoever the representatives are, they will come to feel the pressure of the electors behind them much more exigent than they find it at present. Policy will come ultimately to conform to the wishes of the village voter.

I put it to you, therefore, that we cannot repose indefinitely upon a temporary and unstable equilibrium of forces. It is of the utmost moment to ask ourselves if we are looking ahead—if we are doing all that we can to prepare the electorate for the burdens which it must one day assume. I think that some of the farther-sighted landlords see that. Some men of position have asked me before now whether the representative system necessarily involves the disappearance of the landlord order. They see some grounds for anxiety. They say very truly that, willing as they may be to protect and to advance the interests of the poorer classes, they cannot outbid the extravagant promises held out by popular agitators, who feel no similar responsibility because they have nothing to lose. A good landlord may set himself to treat his tenants well; to give them security, to help them with improvements, to spend generously on schools and hospitals. But because he knows that the country cannot be run without money, he will not promise the impossible. And that is what the other side is always ready to do. No rent, but all proprietary holdings; no taxation, but rather bounties from Government; incomes for all, and burdens for none—these are the phantoms promised by the irresponsible demagogue who only wants votes; and naturally they appeal to the man who is incapable of forming a practical judgment for himself. With the spectacle of Bolshevik Russia before their eyes, some landlords have been asking themselves, and asking me, whether there is going to be any place for them in the political future of this

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country ; whether the representative system inevitably means the entire dissolution of the old order, the breaking up of estates, the disappearance of old families, the end of stability, and the abandonment of control to an uneducated and inflammable proletariat.

I admit the difficulty of the question. To me, as I have said, it seems inevitable that, unless the course of events takes some wholly unimagined deflection, the majority of voters must eventually have their way. It appears to me also—indeed, I think it is widely acknowledged—that the majority of voters are at present unfit to assume control. But, personally, I cannot contemplate that out of good intentions should be born evil ; that the foundations of order and society should be broken up ; and that millions of innocent and peaceful people should be committed to calamity. I go further and say that in a country like this, whose social structure has been based for centuries on the religious and aristocratic principle—on deference to sanctity, merit, birth, power and position—I think that it would be a catastrophe that the landlord order should disappear. They are a valuable element, making strongly for stability in the body politic. I think they are still required to secure society and to lead the people, as to their credit they abundantly proved that they could do when it was a question of a huge war effort. In that belief I nonetheless put it to you that we are all faced with a most urgent and immense piece of constructive work to do. The ignorant elector must be saved from becoming a danger to himself and others. He must realize the underlying requirements of order and stability ; he must, in fact, be educated all round. Moreover, if the landed classes are not to disappear, if they are to maintain themselves any longer as the natural leaders of the countryside, they must also as a whole change their outlook. They must see that privileges involve burdens. They must show that they are the sympathetic allies of the peasant and the working man. They must play the great part that is open to them in educating their fellows. If they do that, they need have no fears of the unknown future. They will be accepted without question as a necessary and valuable factor in society. Democratic institutions are in themselves no reason why men of means and status should not play their due part in their country's history.

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I realize that I am speaking of a position not yet in sight, and that for that reason my words may fail to carry conviction. But after repeatedly going over the ground, I cannot myself perceive any flaw in the propositions which I have advanced. The reforms were launched with the purest of intentions to bring great benefits to India. The reforms must gradually, but inexorably, operate to throw power into the hands of the many. Any factors which delay that process are at most temporary. But, unless I and those who think with me are gravely wrong, the many are as yet quite unprepared to exercise power; and if the world situation to-day points any moral, that moral is that power in ignorant hands is a danger. Therefore, and here again I am expressing to you my personal judgment, it behoves us all—all, without distinction, landlords, public men, and the whole order of public servants—to strive earnestly to make good what is at present a palpable and dangerous deficiency. We have, indeed, to educate our masters. This is the main conclusion to which consideration of the reforms has led me. Whether we shall succeed or not I will not prophesy. The issue lies upon the knees of the gods. But unless we make an earnest, concerted, resolute effort, the high vision of political advance presented to this country must fail of fulfilment, because the vital condition of success is lacking. The material will not be strong enough to bear the weight of the structure. And we—not only the Government, but all responsible persons of every kind—will have come short of our duty unless we make the effort.

I have put forward first what strikes me personally as the conclusive argument in favour of an attempt to vivify and enrich the rural popular life of the province. I can quite understand that some timid imaginations may find the prospect alarming. They will envisage a process of carrying politics into the countryside, and thereby stimulating the very agrarian disorder which it ought to be every sensible man's aim to avoid. It seems to me that such fears are exaggerated, and that in any case such risk as exists ought to be taken. The last thing which I contemplate is the teaching of political theories beyond the digestion of their hearers. I want the ryot and the working man to be put in such a sound state of mind and body that he can eventually make his

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politics safely for himself, forming his own judgments and listening to no man's teaching blindly. If you turn to Chapter VI of the Montagu-Chelmsford report, you will see that this is exactly what the makers of the reforms postulated. They recognized that the enlightenment of the ryot could not be a very rapid, and might be a very difficult, process. But so long as we shrink from the risks which it may involve and are content to leave the peasant population in poverty and ignorance, we remain in a vicious circle. The danger of false teaching is the greater so long as the peasant and the labourer are ignorant and poor.

But, quite apart from the political argument, who can deny that for the sake of humanity alone there is a crying need for something to be done? From all sides comes the appeal—from the economist, the doctor, the educationist, the philanthropist, the social reformer. My honourable colleagues, the Ministers, have told me how strongly they desire to see something effective done for education, for public health, for industries and agriculture. Indian publicists have asked me if Government can do nothing to give a lead in a general campaign of enlightenment. It is painful to them, as it must be to the inheritor of any culture, to feel that so many of their own people are shut off from the riches of thought, literature and art which exist and should be open to them. Other provinces also are cogitating schemes of rural development and construction. We have had all-India investigations into economic conditions and the incidence of taxation, which testify to the consciousness of politicians that there is a great problem to be explored. Personally, I welcome the Government of India's declaration that they feel that there is still need for a concerted effort to improve agriculture throughout India; and I take it as of good augury that His Majesty's Government have selected for the high office of Viceroy a Minister whose concern has been with agriculture and education. I cannot conceive, therefore, that any thinking man will deny the need for a campaign. If any of us are inert or half-hearted about it (as indeed too many of us are), that is because we are daunted by the magnitude and the complexity of the task. It is in truth so large a problem that even in a rapid survey of it the difficulty is to know where to

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begin. One factor interlocks with another : poverty, ignorance and ill-health, each of them aggravates the others.

I know, of course, the facile explanation which is offered of this state of things. India, it is alleged, is burdened with heavy expenditure on armaments and officials ; she has to pay a so-called ' tribute ' to Great Britain ; her industries have been crushed by foreign competition ; her administration is steered by aliens towards their own interests ; her people are over-taxed, and therefore cannot save money and build up capital. To each of these assertions there is an answer, and to my judgment a more or less complete answer ; but I do not desire to spend time in developing the answers now. I want to concentrate on features of the problem which have little or nothing to do with any of these things.

I will begin with the purely economic side. I do not want to paint too black a picture. There are signs of progress and improvement. There has been a great increase in cultivation during the last fifty years ; and a great extension of our protective system of canals and *pakka* wells. Experience of 1913 and 1917 has demonstrated that the resistant power of the people is higher than it used to be. The standard of living has perceptibly risen. The labourer is better off than he was even within my memory. Nonetheless, the peasant's abiding trouble still is that he is nearly always in debt ; he is still too often a lifelong serf to the moneylender, who is no easy master. To this condition, I believe, some social practices contribute. The joint family system may check the subdivision of holdings, but it handicaps industry by making the many dependent on the some. A man works with more zest if he is working for himself. Then there is the practice of early marriage, with its undoubted effects upon physical efficiency. There is the seclusion of women (except those of the lower castes) from participation in the main industry of the country. There is caste, which restricts the free movement of labour, hinders the utilization of waste products, and produces the dragging effect upon society of the untouchable classes. There is the uneconomic expenditure on marriages. There is the sentiment which prevents the unrestricted use of some rivers for irrigation. These are matters which the Government cannot remedy. That is the work

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of the social reformer ; and, privately and personally, I wish his efforts all success. Never, I think, was there a time when the need for them was greater. But I must leave this aspect of the matter, or I may alarm those who see peril in such changes. Over and above all, perhaps the limiting factor to all schemes of economic improvement is the pressure of the man upon the land. Elsewhere in the world an expansion of population has followed upon an increase of resources ; and as the increase in resources slackens, so does the increase in the population tend to diminish. I do not know whether any changes which we can hope to see in India will ever put her people into the comparative economic ease of richer countries. But, even so, all the more reason is there for effort ; and I pass on to other factors in the problem of peasant poverty, which the administration is freer to handle. The ryot's life is in any case a struggle : with his small holding his stability is constantly threatened ; he has a very narrow margin of safety. No human agency can guarantee him rain and sunshine at the right time. We can only attempt to help him within the limits prescribed by nature. That is mainly a matter, first, of capital ; and, secondly, of materials and methods. The Government can indeed try to adjust the burdens which the administration imposes on the farmer, and we sincerely hope that we are doing that ; but to finance the farmer we must look to the landlord and the co-operative society. I know that many landlords advance money on easy terms, but many do not. I know that some landlords look askance at the co-operative movement as tending to make tenants too independent. Personally, I cannot take that view. I say again that I cannot reconcile the ideal of reforms with the continued existence of an unlettered and indebted peasantry. I believe, with Sir Selwyn Fremantle, that the key to the rural problem lies largely through the co-operative movement. It is a disappointment to me that it has not done better, as, under conditions distinguishable from our own, it has done in the Punjab. I look confidently to the present committee, of which Mr. Oakden is chairman, to tell us the reasons and to show us the remedies. I will not attempt to forecast its conclusions. But I regard the co-operative movement as very much more than a means of providing easy money on a large scale. It is a training in the process of acting together,

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of thinking of the common benefit, of handling practical affairs on a large scale. It is in itself an education; and once the idea has established itself in men's minds it can operate for a dozen purposes. It can promote agricultural improvements; it can stimulate education and industry; it can facilitate distribution and marketing. I need not dilate on the practical results achieved in other poor countries. But in the United Provinces the co-operative movement, in order to conquer the public mind, has first to make good within its own peculiar sphere. For the time being the best service it can render to agriculture is to put its societies and banks on a firm, sound basis. All I want to do for the moment is to ask you all, taluqdars of Oudh, zamindars, public men and officials, to believe in the great potentialities of the movement for good and to lend it earnest help. I do not claim that it is a panacea of all evils. But because it is an organic educative process, I believe that it is all to the good that it should expand.

It would take far too long if I were to treat in any detail the many activities of the Agriculture department. But I have one general statement to make about the department, and one or two special points by which to reinforce it. Our agricultural officers would be the first to admit that there is much more work to be done. But they also tell me that if we could make the utmost use of the positive results already attained we should make an immense advance. I have seen figures about Pusa No. 12 wheat, about Shahjahanpur and Coimbatore sugarcane, and about Aligarh No. 19 cotton, which leave no doubt that we ought to make every effort to extend and multiply their use. How is this to be done? I can think of bulletins and district gazettes. I can imagine even that at every focus of rural life—the tahsil, the bazaar, the larger school—we might make available information and specimens of the up-to-date results of the Agriculture department. I think we might call into existence agricultural societies in every tahsil. I think the revenue staff might be interested and active. But far better than all these things is practical demonstration. And here comes in the wise landlord's opportunity. The department is already demonstrating to good effect on some 80,000 acres of private

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land. But we need more. In all agricultural matters the landlord is by far our best non-official agent. The department tells me that it is now distributing all the good seed which it can produce. We need, however, an immense development of private seed farms and seed stores. I ask the landlords of the province to take systematically to growing the approved seed for distribution to farmers. Such private seed farms serve the double purpose of educating the farmer to better ways and of providing him with the means of putting his knowledge in practice. To multiply them rapidly is, I am assured, the one most hopeful step we can take towards greatly benefiting our farmers; and I believe it to be a step well within our means. Or again, take tube-wells. We have about 160 of them, commanding an area of 24,000 acres. Their efficiency is proved; the economy of them is certain. But in non-canal areas there is room for hundreds, if not thousands, more. The Government offer generous assistance, and still the response is slow. But every landlord who instals a tube-well and pump, which can become a focus of both demonstration and seed production, is not merely doing himself a sound turn, but is incidentally a public benefactor. Gentlemen, I might go on about other important matters: power cane-mills, ploughs and harrows, bull distribution, and so forth. But it would take too long, and in each case the moral is the same. The Agriculture department is doing splendid work in providing better methods, and pointing the way to that intenser cultivation which we need to get. The general response is not yet what it might be. Let us remember what Dean Swift said about the immense service of making two ears of corn grow in place of one. Cannot landlords, agricultural societies, district boards, co-operative societies, and revenue staff all link arms and give a great impetus to the technical improvement of our cultivation?

I wish I felt similar confidence about the development of provincial industries. I am not thinking of the highly organized industries of Cawnpore, nor of some other industries—like the Benares silk, the Fatehgarh printed cottons and the Moradabad brassware—which are localized and to some extent organized and capitalized too, nor of those directly connected with agriculture, like the sugar and oil industries, in which fair progress is

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being made. What we need to do is to put more life into the little-diffused industries which require no great capital or plant, but which depend upon the skill and diligence of the human workman, and can, with a little attention and organization, be made to pay. I know the difficulties which are adduced in the way of advance ; but economic pressure is beginning to sap them, and there is an opportunity to seize. We know that the farmer has little or no work to do at certain seasons: a fact that doubtless weighed with the advocates of the *charkha*. To me it seems that there is much more hope from the fly-shuttle loom than from the spinning-wheel. I am assured that but for the middleman's profits the hand-weaver could still compete successfully with the mills. If we could multiply our output of cheap fly-shuttle looms and distribute cheap yarn, we could do much for home-weaving. Weaving seems to me to stand in a class by itself, because it can be taken up at odd times and the demand for the product is unceasing. But with the improvement of agriculture and the extension of hand-weaving there should be increased scope for more ironsmiths, more carpenters, more tanners. I know that the Industries department is doing its best to show the way. But so long as it is a matter of paying stipends in schools to attract youths who have no particular bent for the business and are thinking more of succeeding to teaching posts than of starting on their own account, it is difficult to feel hopeful. I would like to see the stimulation of cottage industries taken energetically up by public-spirited people in the districts ; and here, too, it is for the landlord to lead the way.

One potent factor in the depression of rural life is ill-health. I have referred to some causes which only a reformed opinion can remove. But others are removable. As you know, we have launched the experiment of district health schemes partly for propaganda, partly to deal with epidemics, partly to demonstrate what can be done in special areas. They have been received with some incredulity and they are going to take time to make good. But if people will believe in them and support them, I am sure that much can be done. It would be a small thing for large landlords to establish model villages, or at least to point the way by getting model houses with a simple but scientific

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lay-out and drainage system. I am all for simplicity, but there is a right simplicity as well as a wrong one. It ought to be our aim, whenever possible, to press on with the protection of wells, the removal of filth, and the clearing out of mosquito breeding places. Malaria is the chief enemy of all; and the people must be roused to fight it. A great deal of earnest thought has been given to the question by the Minister and his expert advisers; but the main conclusion is that whatever trained agency can do in the way of education or demonstration, success will ensue only when the villager is stirred to action himself. I know the difficulties: if they were not immense, the thing would have been done already. I believe that it can still be done; but not by public health agencies and district boards alone, and only if all concerned throw themselves into the task with something like the ardour with which they rallied to war-work.

I come to the question of rural education, which intermingles with everything else. We have had a special inquiry lately, and I expect that many of you have studied the results. I need not, therefore, enlarge on our deficiencies. It is clear that our schools serve only a fraction of the people and retain only the boys whose ambitions are other than agricultural. It is clear that there is reason to ask ourselves whether we should be content with the results of the energy and money expended. Rural education has been for some time a matter of concern to the department and to the Minister; and he has important proposals for dealing with it which will shortly be made public. Personally, I think that we need much better and quicker teaching in the lower classes and much more interest on the part of parents and well-wishers. Personally, I agree with Sir Selwyn Fremantle that we must somehow commend our school system to the parents by providing a method of education on which they will be keen, because they see that it makes their sons better farmers. I have been interested to see what can be done in certain places and on a limited scale; I think that our aim should be to find some means of adopting those successful results on a large scale. But it is a huge problem. In spite of the utmost that the zeal of a Minister and the technical skill of a department can do—and I know how earnestly they both have worked—my own idea is that we need

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also a wider agency and a more local stimulus. You know what our primary schools are like. But my idea is that the school and the co-operative society between them should be the nucleus of local enlightenment. Rural schools should make boys better farmers. We need to stud the country with large, well-equipped primary schools, where the boys can be pushed rapidly through the infant stages and have time left to learn something that will be of real value to them in country life. At present the country places are denuded of their more promising boys and the towns crowded beyond their absorbent capacity. This is one of the main causes of unemployment among the middle classes. The problem is by no means peculiar to India; but with us it is specially insistent. I welcome the growing recognition by the press and the legislature that we should seek to disabuse people of the idea that the aim of rural education is to qualify the country-born boy to get out of the country.

Neither I nor my Government have any obvious panacea for all these things. But we feel it our duty to think seriously over them. What are our resources for dealing with them? One's thoughts turn immediately to the district boards, the bodies charged by law with many, but not all the, matters which concern district development. Some of the district boards, as the Government have already acknowledged, are shouldering their burdens manfully and grappling seriously with their new responsibilities. At the same time they have to work within definite limits, according to the Act which provides their organization, enumerates their duties, and prescribes their procedure. Can we feel confident that the boards, in conjunction with the department at headquarters, will, in addition to all their burdens of day-to-day administration, succeed in solving a problem so big, so constructive, so diverse and so diffuse as that of revivifying the life of the entire countryside?

I will not answer that question dogmatically: we need more light upon it. I will only tell you that some people have put it to me that a new agency is required to supplement the boards and the departments. That is a tentative suggestion which has not yet been considered by the Governor acting with his Ministers. Indeed, it is obvious that it cannot be considered

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until we have received much opinion upon it. The idea, as I understand it, is in each district to call into existence a rural development committee, to be composed of all people who are interested and have something to contribute. It would comprise members of the district board, members of the district staff and members of the technical departments. It would in no way clash with the district board nor entrench upon its functions. The new committee would have no executive or spending powers, for to give it these would inevitably lead to antagonism. But it would be a consultative, deliberative and propagandist body. It would preach the cause of advance and enlightenment generally. It would inquire into local possibilities and suggest lines for experiment. It would recommend cases for grants to the boards and to the departments. It would be always there to keep the idea of rural progress clearly before people's minds, and to survey periodically signs of progress. It has further been suggested that if local sub-committees could be gathered round some zamindar or local resident whose heart is in the cause, they would be useful ; and that if we could link up the committees or sub-committees with the system of village panchayats, that would also be to the good. It has been further suggested that at headquarters we should have a rural development board, on which Ministers and departmental advisers would sit to work out programmes and to see that one portion of the scheme is adjusted to another. It has been pointed out that we had a War Board in 1917-18 which did great work and yet managed to avoid collision with other constituted authorities. It has been put to me that if we are all agreed as to the urgency and reality of the rural problem, there is no reason why a similar agency should not serve us now.

Let me repeat that the Government have not considered these ideas ; much less are they committed to them. To me, personally, and to my honourable colleague the Minister also, they seem of sufficient interest and value to be, at all events, worth ventilating. Our object is not to propound any particular solution, but to concentrate attention upon a huge and insistent problem and to seek advice and enlightenment from all quarters as to its solution. Those who lean towards the idea that a special agency or organi-

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zation is required may possibly be quite wrong. In any case, if popular opinion declares against the idea, it is idle to think of proceeding with it. But in throwing out the suggestion for discussion, I would like just to add this. Unless the more general propositions advanced earlier in my speech carry conviction, there is no basis on which to found any new scheme. On the other hand, I think it may be called a commonplace of past history and of personal experience that when we are up against an emergency, unusual methods are needed. When a common danger threatens, the common sense asserts itself and insists on sinking the smaller interests of class or community or prestige. I realize how hard it is to get people to see, how hard it is to see for oneself, into an indeterminate future. But I personally am persuaded that if the urgency of the problem could be brought home to people, if they could realize that we are really at war with poverty and helplessness just as surely as we were at war a few years ago with ruthless human enemies, there would be the same perception now as there was then, that ordinary methods will not suffice; that it is a case for personal effort and example and sacrifice: a case for enlisting in some way or other all who have anything to give, landlords, officials, public men, and any existing organizations. There is some reason to feel that we are not adequately equipped at present to deal with our biggest problem. I invite you, gentlemen, and indeed all well-wishers of these great provinces, to turn over the ideas which I have tentatively laid before you, and to consider whether there is anything in them. It may be that as a result of the discussion of them we may between us strike out some better way. The only conclusion which, personally, I should receive with extreme disappointment is to acknowledge that concerted action is impossible, and that we should do nothing beyond going on along the present lines, and without the driving-force to be derived from the close association of all lovers of the country, of all kinds and ranks, knit together in something like a network of societies extending all over the country.

Gentlemen, I have detained you longer than I hoped might be necessary; and I thank you for the attention and patience with which you have heard me out.

KAYASTHA PATHSHALA UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, ALLAHABAD

TRUSTEES OF THE KAYASTHA PATHSHALA UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,—It is a pleasure to accede to your invitation to open this college, which makes so valuable an addition to the buildings of this academic neighbourhood. Its completion marks the taking of an important step towards the realization of the ideal embodied in the Allahabad University Act. **December 7, 1925**

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Gentlemen, the ideal of the Allahabad University is, as we all know, to become a residential university, with all its students (other than those living with their parents locally) in residence in the university area. The completion of this college building does add substantially to the residential content of the university, and therefore, as I said, it is an important step forward on the accepted lines. But it is also of the nature of an adventure. As you say, the university college (though you are not the first specimen of the species) is still a newcomer, and necessarily something of an experimental development still. The essence of success lies in ensuring that the tutorial arrangements are good. Otherwise you will really remain only a hostel, with merely a colourable element of teaching. It is in the hope of making your tutorial system real, living and efficient, that the Government already give you a grant. I am sure that you do not regard the present arrangements as more than temporary. I understand that as yet you have no separate principal; and that two teachers of the intermediate college are still acting as part-time tutors here. It is apparent, therefore, that some of the requisite equipment of a real university college is still lacking. You cannot under these conditions really attain the intimacy, the understanding, the personal touch, the individual guidance, the impress of character, which your address recognizes as the ideal, and which is, I agree, the very essence of the college system. Therefore, I say to you, concentrate earnestly on this

KAYASTHA PATHSHALA UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

particular feature of your scheme. At all costs seek out and appoint as principal and tutors picked men, whole-timers, men of academic learning and high character who, having the tastes, and living the lives of scholars, are yet human enough to understand the undergraduate's mind and to share and help him in his difficulties: men who, as the Sadler Commission put it, 'will exert on their pupils that kind of guidance which cannot be mathematically defined, not because the ideas on which it rests are vague, but because they lie too deep for words; because such guidance implies a sense of rightness of conduct directed, as occasion arises, to the multiple and varied circumstances of students of different temperament, upbringing and natural inclinations'. Every student in this college should know—not merely from information supplied by some typewritten allocation list, but as the result of personal trial—that there is one among his tutors who has made a special study of his needs and progress, and to whom he can at any time go, and go profitably, for advice. This establishment of real intimacy, of personal relationship between teacher and taught, is the gist of the whole matter; and you should strain every nerve to secure it. And as regards the alternative courses of finding the necessary money yourselves, or of appealing to Government for it, there is just this to be said: I believe that your staff would work better, with more of a collegiate feeling and with more zeal for the cause, if they felt that the main source of their salary was the liberality of private founders, than if they knew that they were paid mainly from the pockets of the state, towards whom (I know from experience, both as donor and donee) it really is difficult for the ordinary man to feel more than a most vapid emotion of gratitude. Incidentally, too, you will be the more deeply concerned to get good men, if it is your money that they are earning.

Gentlemen, I thank you for inviting me; I congratulate you on a notable achievement; I urge you earnestly not to rest upon your oars; and with much pleasure I declare the college open and give it my best wishes. May it represent a real accretion of strength to the senior university in the province; may it absorb and give out the highest conception both of individual effort and of corporate university life; may it be a living exposition of those

KAYASTHA PATHSHALA UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

ideals to which we all are stretching out, the desire for learning, not for its commercial value, but for the beauty and goodness of the thing itself ; and the development of the individual's faculties to the highest, not so much in a spirit of emulation and prize-winning (although these also have their value in an imperfect world), as in a spirit of brotherhood and comradeship, with the intention that their fruits may be dedicated to the service of one's country and fellowmen.

AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, CAWNPORE

MR. DIRECTOR AND MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNING BODY OF
THE CAWNPORE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE,—

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I am not going to speak generally on the larger aspects of the vast problem on which your address has touched. I refrain from doing so partly out of consideration for my colleague, the new Minister for Agriculture. **February 2, 1926** He has too recently taken over the important portfolio of agriculture for there to have been any time for discussion between him and myself of matters of policy and procedure. And, naturally, I do not wish to say anything to-day that may possibly prejudice any conclusions to which he may come. I hope it is unnecessary to emphasize the deep interest which the Government take in the well-being of our greatest provincial industry. But I will just touch on two points. First, when the Government of India asked us whether we favoured the idea of a Royal Commission on Agriculture, we replied that we welcomed its appointment, because we felt certain that such inquiry was bound to stimulate interest throughout the country in matters of vital concern to millions of its people, and hoped that from the considered recommendations of the Commission great benefit would ensue; and, secondly, upon the question of how to make the best use of the excellent results which the agricultural experts have put at our disposal, I say, as I have said before, that for spreading the results of scientific research among the people the best agent of all is the landholder. I am glad to hear that so many of the students do come from the landholding classes.

The larger estates offer great opportunities for the introduction of scientific methods of agriculture. It is not sufficiently realized that land management is a business which has to be learnt like any other business. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance to the economic progress of the province that those who have to manage their own estates or who wish to take up the

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profession of land agents should take the opportunity, which your diploma course offers, of gaining the necessary knowledge and experience for their task.

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It is usual on an occasion like this to offer a word of encouragement and advice to those who have completed their studies and are about to enter upon their future careers. There is no career, to my mind, which offers at present more opportunities of fruitful and beneficial service. We are, as I said, essentially an agricultural province, and agriculture is, and will remain for a long time, our predominant industry. It will depend appreciably on you whether we are to make a rapid advance in improved agricultural methods and practice, thereby increasing the produce of the land and the contentment of the countryside ; or whether we are to continue in the old familiar ways, waging an unequal battle with the destructive forces of nature. If, through your initiative and alertness and capacity to deal with practical problems, you can inspire others with confidence in the knowledge and scientific methods which you have acquired here, you will indeed have deserved well of your college, and will have rendered a notable service to your province.

UNVEILING OF AN EQUESTRIAN STATUE TO HIS EXCELLENCY SIR HARCOURT BUTLER AT LUCKNOW

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—A man about to unveil a statue to his predecessor in office, and desiring to present a verbal picture

March 5, 1926 of him alike to those who knew him and to those who did not, may be forgiven, I think, if he envies the sculptor of the actual effigy the comparative ease of his task. A phrase once spoken—until it is forgotten—is quite as intractable as bronze and stone; but it is apt to catch the light in a greater variety of ways.

Sir Harcourt Butler has been my friend for a quarter of a century, and some of you will have known him for a decade longer. I think that to most of us two aspects of the man pre-eminently appeal. He is universally acknowledged to be an administrator of supreme ability, and he is also, in the best sense of the term, a frank and courageous partisan. He loves dealing with affairs on a large scale; feeling the currents of men's thoughts; sensing the drift of things; and seizing the right moment and the right method in which to guide the course of events, so far as human judgment and will can shape them. But simultaneously he does not deign to conceal the fact that there are certain causes, certain people and certain places for which he has an especial affection. A concrete case for which he can do battle is dearer to him than greater abstractions, about which men can only philosophize. And it is appropriate that in this capital, where much of his work was done and to which he still feels so strong an attachment, his statue should be placed by the piety of those who esteemed him both as a Governor and as a friend.

No doubt it was his early service as settlement officer in Sitapur and Kheri that gave Sir Harcourt his special interest, both in the great houses and in the ordinary people of Oudh. He looked to men like Mr. W. C. Bennett, Mr. Irwin and Sir John Woodburn as his *gurus* in revenue matters; and he was always an advocate of that more sympathetic and lenient policy which has

UNVEILING OF AN EQUESTRIAN STATUE

been followed since in recent settlements. His brilliant work as secretary to Sir Antony MacDonnell's Famine Commission of 1901 was naturally followed by a period of service as Secretary to Government, in which he still maintained contact with Oudh; and in 1906 he succeeded to what was probably the post nearest to his heart in becoming Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow. I need not remind you of all that he did for the beautification of this city. You, Maharaja Sahib, have already referred to that. He set about adorning this place with parks and trees and fountains and stately buildings, with the ardour of a lover who brings jewels to his lady. From Lucknow he was called away by Lord Minto to the Foreign Secretaryship—a post which Lord Curzon once described as involving the highest degree of selection of all those open to the civil service. From the Foreign Secretaryship he became Education Member of the Government of India, and had the satisfaction for five years of furthering the causes of education and public health throughout this vast country. His counsels were, I am sure, of great weight in shaping some of the decisions of the supreme Government, which did much to steady public opinion and to restore confidence in India under the first shock of war. From Simla and Delhi he went for three years to administer Burma as Lieutenant-Governor, and threw himself with undiminished zeal and interest into the new problems of that fascinating land. In February, 1918, he returned to his old province as Lieutenant-Governor, and when, shortly afterwards, the crisis of the War was upon us, his energy and influence ensured that these provinces played a worthy part in the supreme effort which that emergency demanded of all subjects of the King-Emperor. Three years later he became Governor under the Act of 1919. To him belongs the credit of having initiated and given a fair start to a scheme of government, which, whatever its detractors may say of it, confutes them by continuing to function. This is a high achievement. The circumstances in which that scheme was launched were peculiarly difficult. Feeling ran high and there was widespread economic distress. Skill and courage of no mean order were needed to steer the Reforms successfully through the perils to which they were exposed in these provinces in the years 1921 and 1922. Sir Harcourt has already been head of a province for more than

UNVEILING OF AN EQUESTRIAN STATUE

twice the ordinary official lustrum. His administrative record dwarfs all his contemporaries', if not all his predecessors', too.

Sir Harcourt Butler is never happier, I believe, than when he is creating new institutions. To his initiative Lucknow owes three of its finest possessions: the University, the Council Chamber and the new Zoo. It is no secret that, had not hard times supervened, he purposed to beautify this city further still with spacious roads, stately buildings, and impressive bridges. He would relish as epitaph what was said of Augustus Cæsar, '*urbem lateritiam accepit, marmoream reliquit*'. Much of what he intended must for the time being remain a vision only; but when better times come back, I hope that a more fortunate Government may be able to carry out his plans.

I have spoken of Harcourt Butler as a man of state affairs, and as a creative force. No less characteristic of him are his large heart and warm sympathies. Perhaps what most commended him to the people of Oudh was the perception that he understood their feelings and difficulties and sympathized with them. He never forgets a friend. He is a great believer in friendship as a force for good in the world. He wielded an immense personal influence, because he had intimate personal knowledge. No one can read the language of the last speeches which Sir Harcourt delivered in Lucknow without feeling how warm and genuine was his affection for this place, which he described as having been to him 'an inspiration of youth, a support in later years, the abiding city beautiful, my Indian home'. It is with great pleasure that I unveil this statue of him who has been first Governor of this province, first in the brilliance of his service record, first in devotion to the interests of Oudh, and first in the affections of its people.

LA MARTINIÈRE COLLEGE, LUCKNOW

TRUSTEES AND GOVERNORS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—
It is always a pleasure to me to come to the annual prize-giving
at La Martinière College, even though I feel the
March 5, 1926 handicap of having nothing very fresh or interest-
ing to say to you upon this, the third occasion.

The Martinière must always be an object of interest and concern to all lovers of education, because its position is in many ways unique. You are fortunate in having what so many schools in India lack, an historic founder, substantial endowments, fine buildings, fine playing-fields, and a well-established tradition. All these are elements which have played a great part in shaping the life of English public schools. Moreover, it counts for something that this college is situated in the heart of India and on the skirts of one of India's great cities. Hill schools and colleges have their advantages of climate, but they suffer in other ways from their comparative seclusion. For boys who, generally speaking, are going to spend their lives in India, to be brought up in the real atmosphere of India, the India of the plains, is not without its benefits, provided always that good management and the right spirit are able to overcome the adverse influences of the seasons. This is, I understand, what the Martinière, among the European educational institutions of the United Provinces, pre-eminently sets out to do.

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I have reached the point at which it is usual for the person presiding at a function like this to offer advice to a portion of his audience, which, as he realizes, probably regards him as not merely out of date, but as already long-winded. My predecessor, Sir Harcourt Butler, spoke to you about the value of will-power and grit; the need for knowing what you want and of resolving to attain it; the futility—indeed the fatality—of uncertainty of aim and infirmity of purpose. Sir Sam O'Donnell last year reminded you that we all live in an intensely competitive world; and that it is daily becoming harder—not for you, nor for

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members of the European or Anglo-Indian community only, but for everybody—to repose, not upon your own merits, but on privilege, or shelter or special assistance of any kind. I believe that both these speakers were right—and both put their points so clearly that there is no need for me to re-echo them. I want to end upon a slightly different note—a note of hope and promise. I have spent nearly thirty years in India now, and I think I see a decided change—and a change for the better—in the outlook of many members of the domiciled and Anglo-Indian community in these provinces. They are facing facts more clearly and resolutely than they were of old; they are less disposed to regard themselves as an isolated community with peculiar claims upon the beneficence of Government; and they are realizing that they will have to make good their place in the body politic largely by their own efforts, and they are, generally speaking, making a worthy attempt to do so. This is all to the good. I am sure that La Martinière College, Lucknow, has been, especially in recent years, a great influence in this direction. The ideals, the lessons, the spirit which this college inculcates—in form and chapel and playing-fields—are exactly those to serve you in good stead through life.

This Alma Mater of yours bears a name alike of dignity and of good omen—the name ‘Constantia’—which is, being interpreted, the faculty or, let me say rather, the virtue of standing ‘with oneself’, of standing on one’s own legs, erect, four-square, unshaken. I hope that long after I have ceased to be in touch with it, ‘Constantia’ will carry on the good work; and that to the riches of the Martinière’s historic past there may be added the fruition of a vigorous and beneficent future.

DISTRIBUTION OF AWARDS, DHANAURI

GENTLEMEN OF THE IRRIGATION DEPARTMENT,—I take a special interest in to-day's ceremony, because I have been

April 16, 1926 familiar with this particular locality and these engineering works of the Upper Ganges canal from a very early period of my service. It was in the early days of 1898 that I first saw and learned to admire Colonel Cautley's master-work; and among the various monuments of his skill which this upper portion of the canal presents—the Hardwar headworks, the Ranipur and Pathri crossings and the great Solani aqueduct—none struck me as more delicate and ingenious than this level crossing at Dhanauri, where we are now assembled. I remember having been told, years ago, by senior engineers, about the precautions necessary to get timely news of the arrival of flood water, so as to open the discharges sufficiently for safety. Therefore, when I heard that the Dhanauri crossing was in the gravest peril by reason of the floods of October, 1924, the news came to me with twofold impact. Not only did I visualize the colossal loss to the people and to the Government if the Dhanauri dam went and the great Ganges canal was put out of action, but the news of the jeopardy to this particular structure affected me like tidings of the grave illness of a lifelong friend.

Dhanauri, however, was by no means the only danger point even on this canal, which was menaced also both at the headworks and at the Kankhal dam. Nor was it by any means a matter of saving the Ganges canal only. There were damage and danger in many other places; in fact, all throughout this north-western portion of the province the gravest strain was suddenly thrown upon the skill and energies of the officers and staff of the Irrigation department. I am proud to say that they responded gallantly to the task, as I am sure that irrigation officers can always be trusted to do whenever the forces of nature are in their most militant mood. Here, and at Hardwar and Kankhal, and on the Eastern Jumna canal, and also at Narora and

DISTRIBUTION OF AWARDS, DHANAURI

Okhla, brilliant and devoted work was done in preserving the irrigation system and also in saving life.

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Gentlemen, disasters like those of eighteen months ago are a great trial of strength; they impose grave strains, and they entail lamentable expense. But, when all is said on that side of the account, they are not without their value. They serve to rally us all in resistance to a common danger. It is when all people alike, officials, non-officials, civil and military, turn out together and give their best, without thought of self, in defence of lives and property—and I am proud to say that this is what happened throughout the province in the floods of 1924—that the true meaning of that blessed word ‘co-operation’ is really seen. I believe that the demonstration of real co-operation in time of need reflects the true mind of the United Provinces better than much of the current talk of the time.

POLICE CEREMONIAL PARADE, MORADABAD

CADETS OF THE POLICE TRAINING SCHOOL,—It has been a pleasure to me to come here and attend this ceremonial parade,

December 11, and to present to those who have earned them
1926 the tokens of the Government's appreciation of good work done. I am very glad to be accompanied by my friend and colleague, the Home Member, who thus manifests his keen interest in the welfare of the police. I congratulate you upon your appearance and steadiness on parade, which does credit both to your instructors and to the corps of cadets, and is clear evidence of good, hard work on the part of both.

I realize that it is expected of a Governor that he should say a few words to you of more than mere compliment. That I will gladly do, but you must not expect me to say anything which you have not heard before, because the real truths about good police work are a few simple truths, which your instructors here, I know, have already inculcated.

It is good news that there is such keen competition to enter the school and that we are getting recruits of such good quality. That satisfies me that the old reproaches which used to be levelled at the police are being slowly worn down or overcome. For this happy result I give the credit, in the first place, to your Inspector-General and Deputy Inspectors-General and Superintendents, who have set themselves earnestly to improve the standards of police work, and the conduct of police officers, and thereby to raise the reputation of the entire force in the eyes of the province. But, nonetheless, it lies with you to do your utmost also. You ought to realize that you have attained a position here which many others of your contemporaries have sought in vain. Government have spent much money in instructing you. Police officers have toiled hard—are always toiling—to find out improved methods of instruction and better knowledge to put before you. The path ought to be a little easier for every

POLICE CEREMONIAL PARADE, MORADABAD

generation of cadets which leaves the training school than it was for the generation just in front of it. Government and your officers have honestly and strenuously done their best for you ; and it is your duty now, and henceforward throughout your service, honestly and strenuously to do your best for them, or rather for the people which they both aim at serving. You will be subjected to plenty of inducements to swerve aside from the lines which have been laid down for you. But to deviate from those lines is an act of unfaithfulness comparable to that of a soldier who shows cowardice in battle. You have enlisted in the honourable army of the public servants of India. Your duty is to protect the weak and to repress the evil-doer: 'to guard my people', as the King-Emperor has happily expressed it in the motto which he chose himself for the King's Police Medal. I bid you to be proud of entering a profession called to so honourable a task. Police work is toilsome and arduous enough, I know. But it is work of the highest value and importance, alike to the humblest inhabitant and to the government of empires. Speaking for my Government, I promise you our fullest and most ungrudging support in all your difficulties so long as you do your duty, and our gratitude in such measure as you succeed. But I would remind you that you have a higher reward than that to aim at—in the shape of the gratitude and affection of your own people.

Gentlemen, it would be foolish for me to pretend to you that your way will be smooth and your yoke light. They will not. You will have your troubles. I tell you to meet them—as we all should try to do—with a stout heart and with faith in the guidance which has been given to us by better and wiser men than we are. I wish you well, and no one will rejoice more than I do in your success.

NEW EAST INDIAN RAILWAY STATION, LUCKNOW

MR. COLVIN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I have known the Charbagh station for a sufficiently long time to be wholehearted about welcoming its present reincarnation. Any-
December 13, one who can remember spending a hot weather
1926 night in the waiting-room of the old station may sincerely congratulate the travellers of the present day on the increased amenities which these new buildings offer them. I am sure that some of my departed contemporaries, if they revisited Lucknow to-day and found the East Indian Railway eager to waft them up in a lift to a tiled dormitory on the upper storey, would think that they discerned 'a change of heart' on the part of the Indian railway administration. I have seen various eminent people—Royalties and Viceroyalties—arrive at and depart from Lucknow; and, though the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway staff never failed to make a brilliant display of decorations, one could not help regretting on such occasions that the entrance to this historic city of Lucknow was not more worthy of its function. That reproach is now happily removed from us. It happens that the last Royal personage who arrived at the old Charbagh station was that very gallant gentleman, His Majesty the King of the Belgians. It happens also that the first Royal visitor who is expected to set foot upon the new station next week is closely related to the same King; and I mean to assure His Highness Prince Eugène de Ligne that Lucknow has received him through a statelier portal than the one which opened a year ago to his Royal kinsman, King Albert.

Mr. Colvin has been the first to admit that, in introducing this new station to the world, his administration is entering largely into other people's labours. The case for a new station was pressed upon the Railway Board by the officers of the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway. You will not grudge it that I give precedence to departed warriors. We may have had our grievances at times about the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway;

NEW EAST INDIAN RAILWAY STATION, LUCKNOW

but it is just to remember the virtues of its maturer years. For many years it had been bringing itself up to a level of efficiency which should challenge comparison. I know that there was a genuine *esprit de corps* among its officers, who were jealous of the good name of their railway. In particular I wish to mention the name of Major Matthews, formerly Chief Engineer, who, in spite of ill-health, fathered the scheme during its early stages and did much to accelerate the work; and whose artistic eye and love of horticulture secured the fine lay-out in front of the new station. But equally we appreciate the energy which has been put into the execution of the work, and for this the credit is due to the officers of the new order, both administrators and engineers, and the efficient contractors who have co-operated with them. I have heard tales of unfortunate wayfarers losing themselves in the maze of roads and lines and unfinished buildings which for a year or so has confronted anyone who was trying to reach the old station; but I am sure that the engineers really carried out their difficult task with the minimum of inconvenience to the general public—and the way in which they have now evolved order out of chaos is surprising to us and creditable to them. The result of the conjoint efforts of all concerned is that Lucknow gains an up-to-date, impressive and effective station in place of something that was far behind the times; and the incidental benefit—to which, however, I think that my Government also have had the pleasure of contributing—of a permanently open roadway to Cawnpore. These are substantial gains to the city and province, and it is right that, in the name of the public of Lucknow and Oudh, I, as Governor, should acknowledge them. I am no less glad to hear the Agent's assurance that both Cawnpore, and—subject in this case to a certain qualifying condition—Allahabad also, may look forward to similar benefactions.

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Many of us, I think, have felt a keen interest in railway stations from the days of our childhood. I can imagine a philosopher like Mr. G. K. Chesterton telling us that for this there is a profound underlying reason; that a railway station affords the most impressive illustration of one of the elemental mysteries—the change from rest to motion and from motion to rest—in fact,

NEW EAST INDIAN RAILWAY STATION, LUCKNOW

that a railway station attracts the human child because it is a sort of brightly-coloured and loud-sounding allegory of birth and death. Certainly it is true that much of the interest of maturer life centres round what seems the prosaic neighbourhood of the booking office and the weighing-machine. It is on railway platforms that many of life's chapters begin and end; and not least of all to our own small nomad community of European residents in India. I am glad that the railway administration has had the courage to print Kipling's lines about 'Romance and the 9.15' upon the booklet of to-day's proceedings—for they are true. It is not necessary to think of the ambulances waiting of an evening at the southern London termini during the War. History is in the making regularly at every large station every week; and this new station—naked as it now seems—is going to take to itself associations, different doubtless from, but not necessarily poorer than, those of the old Mughal gardens commemorated in its name, Charbagh, or of the gallant deeds done in its neighbourhood when Havelock led his heroic men to relieve the Residency.

People are naturally interested in the housing of the institutions which appeal to them. There is a risk of our views being coloured by our recollection of some familiar railway station. You may happen to prefer the classic coldness of Euston to the Victorian Gothic of St. Pancras, or the chequered sobriety of Howrah to the pomp and prodigality of the Victoria Terminus; but all terminal stations have obvious features in common, and such predilections do not help us much towards an opinion upon our particular problem—the problem of the best design of a large station for through traffic, to be located in the midst of a flat alluvial plain in India, with no natural or architectural features in the immediate neighbourhood to be related to it. In old days both the enlightened private company and the unenlightened state railway approached that question in æsthetics with equal nonchalance. If we are to award credit for finding a better solution, I think that the palm should go to the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway, whose newer stations on the route to Bombay are certainly more agreeable to the eye than any in northern India. Here in Lucknow there is the further fact that

NEW EAST INDIAN RAILWAY STATION, LUCKNOW

the station lies outside the city, and for the present requires only one side of approach. We can see how these determining conditions have led the architect to get his effects by the combination of a long, low line of buildings, broken by some towering cupolas, with a bold and ornamental treatment of the ground in front of them. The Mughal arch and *chattri* seek to bring the station buildings into relation with the Indian monuments of Lucknow. Now any attempt of the kind challenges discussion which it is rather difficult to keep upon a purely æsthetic footing ; for which reason I will content myself with the comment that Mr. Horniman has high authority in his favour—in the shape of the Canning College and the King Edward Hospital buildings. But to abandon general questions and to come down to the particular, I am sure my audience will agree with me in congratulating the architect on the effect of spaciousness, solidity and strength which he has attained in this fine entrance hall, where we are assembled.

If I may venture on a suggestion, which it is perhaps beyond my province to make to the enlightened administration of the East Indian Railway, it is that they should consider the question of producing more attractive posters of the places served by the line. As we know, there has been a marked advance at home in this respect ; and I should like to see equal progress in India. I can think of a dozen places in these provinces, of which I put the Lucknow Residency first of all, well-suited to such presentment. Really good artistic posters would help to make our stations more agreeable places, and, what is more likely to appeal to Mr. Colvin, they might even help to encourage travel.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have kept you overlong. It remains for me only to thank the railway authorities for inviting me to perform this important and interesting ceremony, to congratulate Lucknow upon its new acquisition, and to proceed to the actual ritual of declaring the new Charbagh railway station open.

INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION, LUCKNOW

GENTLEMEN,—On behalf of my Government, I welcome your Commission on the occasion of its first session in the United

December 16, Provinces. I hope that your stay in this attractive
1926 city of Lucknow will be pleasant, and that your proceedings will advance the cause of historical research.

These provinces are enormously rich in historical memories ; they have witnessed many of the processes—invasion, conquest, settlement, discord, anarchy, reintegration—which, as we know from our own experience in England, go to mature and to enrich the thought and character of a people. But some of these processes were obviously far from favourable, either to the preparation, or to the preservation when prepared, of an orderly or even a continuous record of events. Very much material has perished that we would gladly have seen preserved.

The earliest English records housed in the province date back to the last quarter of the eighteenth century, when the province of Benares was transferred by the Nawab Wazir of Oudh to the East India Company. Selections from those records, explaining the proceedings in the permanent settlement of what is now the Benares division, together with other interesting topics, such as customs and trade, were selected by Mr. Shakespeare, Commissioner of Benares, and printed as long as fifty years ago. The records of the Board of Revenue begin in 1801, when the nucleus of the province of Oudh was obtained by cession from the Nawab Wazir. They form a stately set of folio volumes, containing ample material for a complete revenue history of the province of Agra, and are well indexed in manuscript. For the Mutiny period printed narratives are available ; and the Oudh records to which I have alluded contain a wealth of interesting material regarding the pacification of that province. But beyond the printed proceedings of Government, the Secretariat records contain few old papers, owing to disastrous losses in a fire about forty years ago.

INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION

Of early vernacular records we have few, as many record rooms were completely destroyed during the Mutiny. At Fyzabad, however, we have the records of the first summary settlement, and in Benares and other districts of the Benares division there are still official papers dating from the early part of the nineteenth century. No state papers of Indian rulers in either province have survived in public collections.

Owing to the destruction of which I have spoken, a student who seeks to make researches into the historical records of the United Provinces labours under heavy disadvantage. On the other hand, many of the surviving records relating to the provinces must be sought elsewhere—for instance, in the archives of the Government of India or the Government of Bengal or the High Court of Fort William at Calcutta. To write a history of the East India Company's administration of this part of India, it would be necessary to consult not merely our local records and those which I have just mentioned, but, of course, the records in England also. But, when all is said, I am obliged to admit that in this matter of progress in the publication of such historical records as we have, or the facilitation of their examination, these provinces cannot boast that they have been in the van. We have, in fact, not kept pace with most of the larger provinces.

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We chiefly need persons willing to undertake the labour of historical research. Among our officials we have had, and I hope will always have, men with the necessary taste and aptitude ; but it is perhaps less easy than it was once for a man to find time for such things in addition to his ordinary work, or for Government to detach a man for the purpose.

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Perhaps because it lies near to the capital city of Delhi, the province had great historians in the past, such as Barni and Badauni. Through the nineteenth century the torch was passed from hand to hand by Sir Henry Elliot, Edward Thomas, Sir Saiyid Ahmad Khan, Vincent Smith and William Irvine. In more recent years Mr. Moreland's studies of economic conditions in the seventeenth century have won deserved admiration. Mr. Blunt's volume upon the Christian tombs and monuments of

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these provinces is itself a monument of laborious research, and contains a large amount of pure history. The establishment of the university professorship in modern Indian history at Allahabad, and the research department in Lucknow University, give promise of a wider diffusion of interest in historical studies, and the better training of professional historians.

I hope that the members of the Commission will inspect the provincial museum in its temporary quarters at the Lal Baradari ; and will appreciate the collections of copper plates and of coins, which are its most important acquisitions. The stone monuments cannot be adequately displayed at present, and in any case they form only a portion of the series available in the province for study. At Sarnath also a museum exists, in which archaeological exhibits found locally are well arranged, and at Muttra a new building is under construction to house the large and valuable series of Muttra sculptures. The province has many ancient sites awaiting exploration when trained investigators are available. Such problems as the era of the Kushana kings, which has recently been examined afresh by Dr. Sten Konow in *Epigraphia Indica*, will probably be solved as surely as that of the Gupta era, by the discovery of an inscription with dates in both eras. In the temples of Kumaun and in private possession in that territory are many copper plates, skilled examination of which may be expected to illuminate the political history of Hindu rulers, the details of their revenue administration, and the development of the hill dialects. I repeat that, in the first place, it is workers who are wanted ; for which reason I welcome the meeting of your Commission in this province as likely to arouse fresh interest in historical research and to direct attention to the wealth of material not yet fully examined.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON INDIAN AGRICULTURE, LUCKNOW

LORD LINLITHGOW AND GENTLEMEN,—When the Government of India wrote to consult us about the appointment of the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture, this Government replied that we should welcome its appointment; and the welcome which we then gave you in the spirit, some fourteen months ago, it is a great pleasure to me to express to you by word of mouth now that we are met in conference.

Our officers have done what they could to place before you a picture of rural conditions in the province. You are well aware that we are almost entirely an agricultural country; and that the happiness of our great population depends, perhaps, more directly on the success of agricultural improvements than on any one factor. You may feel sustained, therefore, in your arduous business by the confidence that it is work of the highest importance and potential benefit. Speaking for myself and my colleagues, I assure you of my Government's entire willingness to assist you in any way possible, and the readiness with which we (or our successors) will address ourselves to the consideration of your proposals when made. It is quite true that neither the Finance Member nor myself can claim that intimate knowledge of agricultural details which comes to some members of the Indian Civil Service who have been settlement officers or co-operative credit officers, or even Directors of Agriculture; it happens that Sir Sam O'Donnell's special experience and my own have lain in other fields. But that does not mean that we are blind to the administrative importance of the problem, or uninterested in the doings of the keen and capable officers of the Agriculture department who deal with its more technical aspects. Anyone who has spent some years in district service and knows the virtues of the Indian ryot—his patience in adversity and his contentment with even very moderate success—must, if he has any humanity in him, feel an intense desire to help the ryot in his many difficulties. As for the other members of my Government—my colleague, the

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Home Member, and my three Ministers—I need only say that they all four of them belong to the landed gentry of the province, and they cultivate themselves and are in constant relation with hundreds of cultivating tenants; they would all agree that the prosperity of the landlord is rooted in the prosperity and contentment of the cultivator. There is no need for me to enlarge further upon the depth or the reality of the interest which they feel in the problems with which your Commission is concerned. But I will just add that one of them—I will spare his feelings by leaving him unnamed—has written a delightful little book dealing with scenes from rural life, which reveals his deep knowledge of, and sympathy with, the Indian villager.

Gentlemen, I have said enough by way of prelude. I repeat that we as a Government are glad to greet you, and wish you all possible success in your strenuous and wide-ranging investigations.

SARAYA SUGAR FACTORY, GORAKHPUR DISTRICT

SIRDAR SAHIB,—You are an old friend of mine, and it would have been in any case a pleasure to me to come and open your
February 22, fine new sugar factory ; but to-day the pleasure is
1927 enhanced by our having with us His Excellency
Sir Malcolm Hailey, who thus demonstrates his interest, not merely in this enterprise of his friend and former colleague, but also, I trust, in the agricultural fortunes of a province neighbouring to, and associated by old ties with, his own. I may tell you that, during the recent visit of the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture, we in Lucknow heard not a little about Punjab means and methods ; and I feel a certain contentment that Sir Malcolm in his turn is seeing something of the way in which a district in the United Provinces can respond to enlightened treatment.

Here in the United Provinces we grow a million and six hundred thousand acres of sugarcane, or nearly half of the total area sown with sugar in India. This year the area sown increased by nearly two hundred thousand acres, or one-seventh of the area sown the year before ; while the increase over the average sowings of the past five years was getting on for one-quarter. But if I had nothing but the evidence of my own eyes to rely upon, I should feel sure that our sugar crop was expanding. Year by year in the cold weather I admire more and more those fine living walls of cane which, standing up from the green carpet of the *rabi*, so greatly enhance the beauty of the fields. The bulk of our sugar in the United Provinces grows in two solid areas. The bigger lies to the north-west, in that favoured tract which stretches south from Saharanpur through Muzaffarnagar and Meerut, to Bulandshahr, and south-east through Bijnor, Moradabad, Bareilly, Budaun, Pilibhit and Shahjahanpur to Kheri and Hardoi. In the centre of the other we are standing now. Gorakhpur has a larger area under sugar than any district except Meerut ; and Azamgarh, Basti, Jalaun, Fyzabad, Ghazipur, Ballia, Gonda and Bara Banki have also a notable yield.

SARAYA SUGAR FACTORY, GORAKHPUR DISTRICT

I have no doubt that the approaching completion of the great Sarda canal will mean a still further extension of the sugar area.

I need hardly say that we welcome this steady development of cane growing. Sugar is not only a lucrative crop, but a valuable crop in other ways as well. I mean that it is a crop that is not tolerant of half measures or of casual treatment. To get the best out of it—and its best is so very good as always to be worth striving for—you must put in good work and good methods. This is what the Agriculture department is always teaching; but of himself the cultivator really knows it well. After the habit of farmers, he has condensed his experience into some pithy sayings. It is true that one rather pessimistic proverb says that if you are going to cultivate sugarcane you had better build your house near a money-lender's. But others are more sanguine—

Jō tú bhúká mál ká
Tō íkh kar lō áp ká;

or this other one—

Ikh tak khéti
Háthi tak banij.

Another maxim says that 'rice, *pán* and sugar are all three slaves of water'; another that 'wheat needs ten ploughings, but sugar needs twenty'; another that 'even a widow can grow sugarcane, but it takes a stallion to crush it'. Between them, I think, these put the main truths about cane in a nutshell. Cane is a most paying crop, but you have to plough frequently; you ought to manure the soil; you must have good seed; you must give it plenty of water; you must weed it carefully and ridge it well; and, finally, you must have economic and efficient crushing plant. And perhaps it is just in this demand for high standards all unrough that the main value of the crop lies. The extension of sugarcane means that more and more of our farmers are improving their methods of cultivation and believing more and more in the lessons which science can teach them. And that way lies the brightest hope for the whole rural life of our people.

To realize what the possibilities ahead of us are, we have only to look to the example of our main competitor, Java, which, together with Mauritius, continues to pour hundreds of thousands of tons of sugar into India every year. By the scientific study of their pro-

SARAYA SUGAR FACTORY, GORAKHPUR DISTRICT

blems of cultivation, the Java growers have worked up the average yield of raw sugar per acre to one hundred and twenty-six maunds. Now that is nearly four times the average yield per acre in these provinces ; and on the manufacturing side the results attained in the Java factories are hardly less remarkable. This shows the standard of work attainable by the use of modern and up-to-date machinery. But we know now that we can grow first-class cane ; and, if so, there is no reason why our manufacturing results should not be equally good.

Let me tell you very briefly what the skilled officers of the Agriculture department have been doing. The department has been at work for years on the improvement of cane cultivation, and now very noteworthy results are being secured. Patient experiments and tests, at Shahjahanpur and elsewhere, soon showed the need for replacing the indigenous variety of cane by other types which would respond better to intensive culture. The discovery of the best type was a longer and more difficult matter ; but now, from cross-breeding done in the warmer climate of Madras, types have been evolved which promise to revolutionize the sugar industry of the province. Already 100,000 acres are growing improved cane, which may be expected to produce an extra yield, which it is moderate to estimate at Rs. 50 an acre ; but much more may be expected from the recent introduction and rapid popularization of the best Coimbatore canes. So eager was the demand for these canes that 10,000 acres were sown with them this year ; and next year, by the efforts made to conserve a large proportion of the present crop for seed, we hope that 40,000 acres may be sown. When we remember that all the lakhs of maunds required for this area will have been produced from a few seers received from Coimbatore six or seven years ago, we are justified in feeling pride in the progress made, and confidence that the proved results of science are beginning to speak for themselves.

But, as the Director points out in his last report, the area to be grown with cane is in practice limited by capacity to crush the crop. Bullock-driven mills are efficient if properly worked ; but this is not always the case. Too often the cattle are not strong enough, not only to cultivate the fields but also to work

SARAYA SUGAR FACTORY, GORAKHPUR DISTRICT

the mills to their full capacity. But, at the best, cattle-labour can deal only with a limited crop. Power-driven crushers enable the yield of a far larger area to be treated. Thus sugar cultivation, if it is to be developed as we should like, means the installation of small power-plants to pump water for the crop and to drive the crushing mills ; and what we have to do is to get the landlords with home farms to set these up ; and even more, perhaps, to encourage small holders to co-operate in similar enterprises, or, possibly in the first instance, to set up and run such enterprises for them. I know the difficulties about water rates and the disputes for priority of service ; but I am convinced that, over a great part of the province, the shortest way to agricultural prosperity lies along this road.

UNITED PROVINCES CO-OPERATIVE CONFERENCE, FARRUKHABAD

GENTLEMEN,—I am glad to come here accompanied by my colleague, Thakur Rajendra Singh, and to open your conference,

February 27, if only in the hope that our presence may
1927 emphasize as clearly as possible the importance

which Government attach to the success of the co-operative movement in the United Provinces. Conferences like yours are always useful, as Sir James Meston said in 1912, because they substitute a quick and stimulating interchange of practical experience for the slower impersonal method of forming opinion by correspondence. Apart from the resolutions passed and papers read, they enable delegates to know each other, and so incline them to help each other in their mutual problems. But a peculiar interest attaches to your conference this year. The co-operative movement has reached an important moment in its history. We have had an enthusiastic beginning, followed by a certain ebbing of vitality, if not by retrogression. We have had a searching inquiry, as the result of which we see more clearly than we did why the movement has not succeeded better in gaining the confidence and seizing hold of the imagination of the people, and we think that we discern the lines along which improvements can be effected. The Government have reviewed the report of Mr. Oakden's Committee, and have announced that, in the main, they accept its conclusions. They have said that they are prepared to ask the legislature to vote money for an enlarged staff and for other charges. And one of your main concerns in this conference will be to consider how best to co-operate with Government in carrying out the new developments.

Over and above that, we have the visit of the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture. Their deliberations afford hope that a strong and vivifying impulse will be imparted to agriculture, the main industry of this large province. It is of the greatest moment that when the results of their investigations are available, and (as we hope) the men and money are forthcoming to pursue

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them, co-operative agencies throughout the province should be healthy and active, so as to be ready and able to advocate better methods in agriculture and to enable our small farmers to adopt them. This is a very strong reason why we should spare no effort to put our co-operative department house in order rapidly.

Do not let us make the great mistake of jumping to the conclusion that, because co-operation has not yet had the success which was hoped for it, it is an ideal unsuited to the practical needs and conditions of the United Provinces. Co-operation is nothing but organization based on brotherly feeling and mutual help, and in itself is of universal applicability. It is, in fact, actually practised in many little things by the people in this province. Knowing its wonderful achievements in other lands and other provinces under diverse conditions, I retain a wholehearted belief in the potentialities of the movement for good. And I suggest that you all should study and reflect upon the causes of its temporary unsuccess in this province, as recent investigation has revealed them to us, so that understanding of failure may point the road to success.

The immediate object of the co-operative movement is the moral and material uplift of the members of the rural primary societies. If we can do that, it will be comparatively easy to do much more. But, since the primary task is the more urgent and the more difficult one, I propose to dwell upon it for a few minutes. The primary society is the foundation on which the whole structure rests, and therefore it is essential that it should be organized on sound lines and properly trained. Training must not stop with the registration of the societies, but must continue throughout their existence. It is true that the members of these societies are, for the most part, poor and illiterate, ignorant and conservative; but that is all the more reason for patiently and persistently educating them, explaining to them the benefits and advantages of united action, and helping them to realize that the strength of their society 'rests on the honesty, fair dealing and mutual trust of its members'.

I put it to you emphatically that the greatest need of the movement at present is just this task of training, this business of expounding to the members of the rural unit the principles of

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co-operation, and of helping them to realize their responsibilities. The members must learn to regard their society not as a mere heterogeneous collection of individuals, but as a corporate body with joint aims and responsibilities. The whole has to be taught to be something different from the aggregate of the parts. It is not till the general body of the society can be awakened to its responsibilities that the movement can thrive and bring about an improvement in the condition of the people. Now, from one point of view the work of educating the societies along these lines may appear a dull and tedious task, involving a great deal of drudgery and hard work. Even upon that estimate of it, it must be undertaken in right earnest if the movement is to succeed. I do not myself think it is altogether a right estimate; it is the task of the trainer to impart the very important element of conscious responsibility, which is the life of the whole movement. That is literally a creative process; and creation has always been esteemed as work of a high order. The duty of organizing the primary societies must no doubt be entrusted, for the most part, to paid men. But we should take the utmost care to see that the men employed are themselves properly trained and understand their duties; that they have a right conception of what they are setting out to do, and that they do it thoroughly. In other words, there must be strict selection of, and close and continuous supervision over, the men entrusted with the charge of the societies. Human nature being what it is, mischiefs will always recrudescence, and constant attention and unremitting toil will be necessary for the purpose if they are to be checked. My Government will shortly lay before the Legislative Council important proposals for carrying out the recommendations of the Oakden Committee. The work of training ought not to be allowed to suffer because of an inadequate and ill-equipped staff. Whatever thought you can give to this most important aspect of the matter will be expended to good purpose; and the Government will await with interest any conclusions to which you may come.

Next to the training of primary societies in the true principles of co-operation, I put the problem of expanding their operations along the right lines. Whenever I review the problems of our

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rural population, I come back to the conclusion that the scope of agricultural co-operative societies must not be confined merely to the provision of cheaper credit. The real goal is better living, and cheaper credit is only a means to that end. Credit societies are, and must for long remain, the main item in the co-operative programme in this country; they are the primary schools in which the art of combination for the common good must be learned. But on their success, as I have said already, will depend the progress of co-operation in other directions. And there are many other outlets for co-operative activity. One of the most important for the mental and moral uplift of the people is adult education. The education of adults cannot be confined to teaching them to read and write, but must be such as would appeal to them and broaden their mental horizon. The object is not so much to impart information as to awaken the minds of the people, to equip them to play an intelligent part in their daily lives. They must be so educated that their whole outlook on life is affected and they develop an impulse for self-improvement, economic, physical, mental and moral. Then only will they be in a position to take advantage of the various improvements which science can offer. As a recognized expert has told us, the villager's extraordinary apathy towards improvement, and towards ideas of better standards of living, must be fought and defeated by giving him a new outlook on life. We must make people feel that they are capable of more than they have hitherto achieved; we must give them a desire for something richer than what they have had in the past—a desire for better living, which will make them pay heed to new ideas and new methods of increasing their wealth. Every one of us knows that the use of improved seed and improved agricultural implements could add enormously to the income of the villager; and year by year there is progress, rapid if we compare it with past stagnation, but terribly slow if we look at what yet remains to be done. It is for co-operative societies, once they are firmly established in trust and confidence, to take up this work and to popularize such improved implements and seeds as are recommended by the Agriculture department after careful experiment and practical trials. There are plenty of other tasks. It is for the Co-operative department to try to

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encourage cottage industries, so as to add materially to the meagre income of the villager; it must try to improve the condition of cattle, and it must stress the importance of sanitation in villages to better the general health of the people. For all these purposes, we must maintain a close touch between the Co-operative department and the departments of Agriculture, Education, Industries, Public Health and Veterinary work. I do not believe in rigid uniformity of plan. I have not myself great faith in standing committees or boards, composed of members of the various departments, sitting formally at intervals to deliberate over methods of co-ordination. I believe that you get co-ordination easiest and best when each man ceases to think merely departmentally and realizes that other people are pursuing the same general aims as he himself is. I believe that, speaking generally, our departments do realize that and are only anxious to pull together. But it is another question whether in the districts our purposes can best be attained by forming separate societies for different purposes or by trying to combine the pursuit of various aims in one society. Whichever way I am disposed to give a general answer to that question, my views are certainly not positive enough for me to promulgate them now. The point is one which I suggest that this conference might with advantage consider. I will merely say that, while I want us all to take long views and to look well ahead, I am not in the least anxious that we should be too keen to get quick results, and start all manner of societies just to be able to show that we are up and doing. I would far rather proceed slowly and steadily along sound lines, consolidating our gains and not trying to go faster than the character of the people and the ability and capacity of their leaders will warrant.

I acknowledge gratefully that much valuable work has been done by honorary workers. But the movement wants more men and still more men—men imbued with the missionary spirit and prepared to spend a good deal of their time for the public good. I say to you that unless such rural leaders are forthcoming, men capable of taking hold of the commonest problems, of working them out to a practical solution and of convincing the people by actual demonstration, the uplifting of the masses is bound to be

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grievously delayed. No doubt Government can do much; I hope that its resources will grow, and that it will do even more than it has done. I can assure you that my Minister, indeed all the Members of my Government, are very earnest about this matter, and trying hard to be alive to it. But the task is beyond the unaided capacity of any Government. The main power of the movement must be gathered in the districts, and not generated at, and diffused from, headquarters. It is true that economic leadership may seem an unexciting pursuit. It lacks the glamour of more spectacular activities. But it is not, on that account, less valuable and enduring work. We have a large number of landlords in this province, and to them, in the first place, I renew the appeal to come forward to help in this immense and worthy work of rural reconstruction. But I appeal to all men of position and enlightenment who understand and sympathize with the needs of the villages. If such volunteers are to be of the fullest value, they may themselves have to be trained, and certainly they will have to put in earnest and sustained work. But surely the cause is well worth the effort. With officials and non-officials working together in the same great cause for the welfare of the people, training them to be their own saviours, to help themselves and to help each other, developing the co-operative movement until it depends on itself for its driving force and provides its own propaganda, and uplifting the moral, the mental and the material condition of the people, I see no reason why this great province, which has many homely sources of strength peculiar to itself, should not, in course of time, take its place as all-round the foremost province in India.

UNITED PROVINCES CIVIL SERVICE ASSOCIATION, LUCKNOW

GENTLEMEN,—Your president has just referred to my inaugural address. But I have to confess that I did not think that so formal

March 5, 1927 a character would attach to the remarks which I have to make to you. I have come to you this morning simply because I have a genuine personal interest in a service whose work I have now known (sometimes at very close quarters) over a period of thirty years.

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I have glanced over the representations which have reached Government from your association since it was founded. I am not going to discuss the particular questions which they raise: questions of promotion, and listed posts; questions of travelling allowance and residential quarters, and so forth. This is not the occasion for that. But on the general subject of representations to the Government I want to say one word. I have read ere now—and not from your association alone—well-reasoned and moderately-phrased representations which show that those responsible for them had given thought to all aspects of the question and had even tried to see how Government would look at it. For all such representations the Government are obliged. But I have also read memorials—and not from your association alone—which were not equally well-conceived; but rather gave me the impression that some zealous but indiscreet draftsman had set out to show how vehemently he could write, while no one else apparently had attempted, or at least had been able, to restrain him. If I might offer you a word of counsel on this point, it would be that the Government, or at all events the present Government, are not fond of exuberant language. When they read about ‘fates being sealed for ever’ or ‘pictures of black despair’, they feel that what in itself may be a good case is being endangered by too strident advocacy. I would say to you and all such associations: if you want to produce the maximum effect on Government, do not always dip your pencil in the hues of

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earthquake and eclipse ; and be cautious how you affirm or even imply that Government are sordid, soulless, self-seeking people, blind to the merits and deaf to the appeals of their most deserving and devoted servants. Even if all this is true, it may not be sagacity to say it. Governments are always human, even if they do not always seem humane. If you address your reader in sweet, reasoned language, you play him the subtle compliment of implying that he is equable and judicial, and it may even be that he will on that account be more disposed to lend a willing ear. And now, having said so much, let me hasten to add that the representations received by Government from your particular association have not, either in their matter or their manner, been anything like as fantastic as others which I shall not name.

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Gentlemen, you are men of experience and knowledge of the world. I believe that you know that on an occasion like this I desire to meet you in the friendliest manner, and to say whatever I feel that I can say truthfully by way of appreciation of your public service. I regard you as fellow-workers in the same great cause as the service to which I have the honour to belong. But, if you stop to think for a moment, I am sure that you will realize that I do not in the least desire to have anything, which I may say to you quite sincerely on an occasion like this, served up to me hereafter or to my successor in office, as if it were an official testimonial, and made an argument for demanding better pay or higher status. That manœuvre has been executed before now—not by you, but by other people—and I do not think that it is quite playing the game. If I thought that I should have to reckon my phrases this morning in terms of possible cost to the taxpayer, I should not have come here to speak to you.

After that defensive exordium, let me express my Government's sincere and grateful appreciation of the service which you represent. Provincial executive officers do an immense amount of hard, and often monotonous, work. At times they are required to overtax themselves in great emergencies like floods or famine, disorders, epidemics or great gatherings of pilgrims. In ordinary times the burden of detailed work in court and camp, year in and year out, is very heavy. I can remember several good men who

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have fallen by the way. I wish there were more opportunities of diversifying the duties ; for some classes of work are wearisome, and there is refreshment in mere variety. During the past twenty-five years I am sure that the quality of the work has visibly improved. Men set higher standards before themselves and strive harder to attain them. I am convinced that, speaking generally, the work of the service is faithfully, intelligently and honourably done, and that it is work of enormous value to the country. In the name of Government, I thank you for it. Again I must remind myself that this is not the occasion on which to discourse on matters of policy. But this much I think I may safely say : that whenever we have had under discussion questions of finding men in India for higher office, the Government of these provinces, when considering the diverse classes of candidates, have never been, and are not, I think, ever likely to be, unmindful of the claims afforded by the disciplined and strenuous labour of our corps of deputy collectors.

PUBLIC HEALTH EXHIBITION, LUCKNOW

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—As Colonel Dunn has told us, this is the first exhibition of its kind ever held in Lucknow, or indeed in the province. Briefly summarized, our

March 7, 1927 aim in holding it is to stimulate interest as widely as possible in questions of physical health throughout the United Provinces. Everyone knows what an immense work there is to be done in preventing disease, and in improving the conditions under which people live. We want to direct everyone's attention to the very serious problems of the national physical health, and also to stimulate a belief that the problems are not insoluble. This exhibition is an epitome of the important and beneficial work which the Public Health department is doing.

It has become a commonplace of political terminology in India to refer to the departments which are under Ministers as the 'nation-building' departments. I fancy that that compound adjective was invented in Bengal; but whoever invented it had a keen eye for popular effect. Perhaps some people might be tempted to inquire whether any department or departments can really build a nation; or whether, if we assume that the phrase embodies a certain measure of truth, there is really good reason to confine its application entirely to the transferred departments. But upon those points I need not detain you with a disquisition now. To take the phrase at its face value, I think that among the whole range of matters in the charge of Ministers there is none which answers so simply and unequivocally to it as the department concerned with physical health, whose aim it is to engage and to defeat the forces which levy such a heavy toll upon humanity in the form of sickness, impaired vitality and death. Physical well-being is so obviously essential to national well-being that in relation to public health questions the attribute of 'nation-building' loses most of its rhetorical flavour and almost attains prosaic accuracy.

The beginnings of the movement for healthier living date from long before my time; but I can remember how the coming

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of plague to India, about thirty years ago, did much to stimulate inquiry and to direct attention to public health problems. But I need not traverse that old ground. Advance has never yet been rapid, but nonetheless some advance there has constantly been. During the War the cause of physical health, like many other beneficial activities, sustained a temporary set-back. But since 1919 the advent of reforms has done much to rouse public interest in the general health of the country, and for the last seven years it may be truly said that we have been expanding our operations as fast as we could find money and could train men for them. For this result I am sure that public opinion will give credit to the Ministers to whom it is due: to Pandit Jagat Narayan, to the late Raja Parmanand, and to my present colleague, Rai Rajeshwar Bali.

We have now at work in the districts five times as many medical officers of health as we had in 1919, and the number of sanitary inspectors also has nearly doubled. The function of this agency has been to bring the knowledge yielded by research or specialist work at headquarters to bear on the realities of village life. We have such a staff at work in seventeen districts now; and we hope to add eight other district staffs at least this year. Our aim is to give every district a highly-qualified health officer, supported by trained subordinates in adequate numbers. What exactly are they expected to do? Well, one of their functions is the dull, but very valuable, work of reforming our vital statistics. As you probably know, these have always been very untrustworthy, because they have depended upon illiterate and ill-paid chaukidars. We shall have a much better perception of the campaign which we have to wage when we know what proportion of the 900,000 deaths annually returned as fever are really due to dysentery or pneumonia or tuberculosis. Secondly, when an epidemic breaks out — of cholera, plague or smallpox — these officers hurry to the spot and concert preventive and defensive action. I am glad to know that this part of their work has won high praise from district officers and district board chairmen. They have proved themselves really effective helpers when disease is abroad, and people have been anxious to get their help. Over and above this, the district staffs are required to find

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out what can be done on strictly practical lines to improve the health of towns and villages, and by unceasing propaganda to persuade the people that such and such things ought to be done, and to get them assistance from Government in doing them. I suppose that this is the hardest part of their task. It is no easy thing to work out practical methods of house-building, lay-out, water-supply and drainage which are within the limited means of the people. And it is an even harder thing to persuade our conservative and fatalistic villagers that it is worth while to adopt improvements. Nonetheless, this is pioneering work of good quality and of high importance. I say that we have to go on strengthening and supporting our district corps of public health emissaries by every means in our power; and I hope that this exhibition will render them most effective help.

The district health staff about which I have been talking may be described as the knife-edge of the machine. But the edge must have power behind it. In order that the right remedies may be ascertained, and in order that the district staffs may be trained and supplied with the right material for propaganda and education, there must be an appropriate organization. Therefore we have aimed at establishing some four or five specialized branches in the department.

There is, in the first place, the Provincial Hygiene Institute. This was born six years ago and it is still housed in the Medical College, where there is now no room for it. We are, therefore, building a new institute, with well-equipped laboratories for public health work, and everything necessary for training the public health staff. The institute already trains both medical graduates and sanitary inspectors in its present habitation in the college, where it also holds classes for those taking the subject in their undergraduate or post-graduate studies. But the routine work, like water analysis for towns, food analysis, the standardization of disinfectants and so forth, and also the important work of research into cholera and plague (financed by the Indian Research Fund, which the Government of India administer) is at present being done at the Kankar Kothi. It will be a great improvement when research, analysis and training can all be brought together in the new institute.

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Next there is the Special Epidemiology branch. This may be described as the intelligence staff, which directs the campaign against the worst epidemic diseases which ravage our people—that is to say, against plague, cholera and smallpox. This agency looks after the central plague godown; it manages, equips and moves the travelling dispensaries; it brings into use temporary travelling dispensaries as required. It gets weekly epidemic reports and special telegrams from districts, which show it where dispensaries should be worked or where a special staff should be sent. It also undertakes campaigns against rats to eliminate endemic foci of plague; and it is always putting into practice the latest ideas as to its treatment. The branch has examined hundreds of thousands of rat-fleas; and anyone who reads Colonel Dunn's summary of what has already come to light will feel reason to hope that the very obscure secrets of plague are being slowly but surely discovered.

The work of the Malaria Board is also most important. In the first place, it maintains and supervises the hospitals and the preventive medical work which is being done in the Sarda Canal area. We have all heard how the American doctors eliminated malaria from the Panama Canal zone. Something on the same lines has been attempted on the Sarda. As you know, much of the upper part of the canal lies in a most malarious tract, where it would have been impossible to assemble or to retain labourers if special precautions had not been taken to secure their health. The work of Dr. Phillips and his assistants has thrown much light on the eradication of malaria in special localities; and it has also helped immensely to further the progress of our greatest engineering project. Malarial surveys have also been made in large cities like Meerut, Lucknow, Bareilly and Moradabad; and more recently attempts have been made here and there to fix on particular rural areas and to improve them also. The branch, of course, trains all our medical officers of health in anti-malarial work. But its most important work of all is research. Malaria is notoriously the greatest cause of morbidity and mortality in the whole tropical and sub-tropical world, and especially in India. It has been estimated that one-quarter of our people are incapacitated by reason of malaria for at least two months in every

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year, and have a lowered vitality for the other ten months. It may even be that the present prevalence of malaria causes to the rural population of the province a loss of efficiency approximating to half their possible output. This is an appalling thought ; and brings home to us the enormous potential value of the efforts which are being made to get at the secrets of this disease.

In addition, there is the Engineering branch, the officers of which advise local bodies about water-supply, drainage, sewage, electric-supply, town improvements and anti-malarial work. They prepare plans and either undertake the work themselves or inspect the works constructed or operated by others. They are an obviously necessary part of a complete public health organization.

So much for the substantive work of the department. But our people generally know very little about the reasons for disease or the methods of its prevention, and the greatest hope of all for the future lies in instructing them and arousing them to voluntary methods of self-protection. Till now we have been trying posters, pamphlets, leaflets and magic-lantern lectures. I have encountered some of these all over the country, and have no doubt that they are having an effect. But we are now attempting a more vivid appeal in the shape of cinema films, which are to be shown at fairs where people come in a holiday mood with leisure for sight-seeing. The special staff of the institute have prepared a film, under the arresting title of 'Why die of cholera?' It is to be shown daily here, and anyone who wishes may be edified by it this evening. They are getting ready other films dealing with tuberculosis and smallpox. I hope that all these will be very effective for their purpose.

Besides sections dealing with the special branches which I have described, this exhibition (itself a product of the publicity scheme) has sections dealing with vaccination and child-welfare. With the last subject we shall be more particularly concerned in a few days' time. The models shown in the institute section are fresh from England. They will be housed in the institute museum, which will be open to the general public. The other exhibits will be explained by special lecturers, who will, I am sure, make them most interesting.

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I hope that people will flock to the exhibition in thousands ; that they will carry away a new sense of the supreme importance of hygiene to the whole community ; and that they will derive a new interest in, and admiration for, the unremitting efforts of the Public Health department, under Colonel Dunn and his capable assistants, to help them. If only everyone visiting the exhibition would go away to his home a little more persuaded of the wisdom and the practicability of the simplest sanitary measures, the work which has been put in here would indeed be amply rewarded. That is too much to hope for. But surely it is not too much to hope that, among the many who see what the department has to show them here, some will go back disposed to regard insanitary hollows around villages with a new and critical eye ; prepared to believe that tuberculosis is spread by crowding and the want of air ; prepared to believe that dysentery is mainly caused by allowing filth to drain into wells ; prepared to initiate safer methods of storing manure and of disposing of other waste products. If they will believe these things, and will back their belief by setting an example, then this exhibition will do immense good. In that hope I declare it open.

UNITED PROVINCES ZAMINDARS' ASSOCIATION, MUZAFFARNAGAR

MEMBERS OF THE UNITED PROVINCES ZAMINDARS' ASSOCIATION,—I thank you for your hearty welcome to Muzaffarnagar, and for the cordial terms in which you have
March 26, 1927 addressed me. I congratulate you on having secured so representative an attendance. It is a great pleasure to have this opportunity of meeting you at the headquarters of your association and of reviving the memories of my earlier service in this district. The traditional loyalty of your order is well known; but I am nonetheless glad to hear you express your appreciation of the manner in which the Government have always maintained your prestige and honour, and I can assure you that their desire for your welfare and their care for your rights and privileges continue undiminished.

Your association is in this respect peculiar, that among its aims you include the protection and promotion of the interests of tenants, to whom membership is open, as well as of landlords, and the general improvement of agricultural methods and conditions. I have examined the extent to which the landlords of Muzaffarnagar allowed occupancy rights to accrue under the Tenancy Act of 1901, and I am satisfied that in this headquarters district at least of your association you have carried precept into practice and set a liberal example. But goodwill and co-operation between landlord and tenant are so truly the master-key to all agricultural progress that I must not miss this opportunity of commending to your special care this aspect of your association. You are eagerly awaiting the practical proposals and recommendations of the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture. Let me make a homely comparison. Your famous Muzaffarnagar wheat owes much of its excellence to the care with which the farmer prepares the ground for it. You have a local saying that the soil is not ready for the wheat seed till the old-repeated work of the plough and harrow have so softened the seed-bed that an earthen jar full of water will not break if thrown upon it. Just so the practical

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recommendations of the Commission will yield but a niggard crop unless the seed-bed is well prepared and ready ; and it lies with you to prepare it by constant and repeated endeavour to foster and improve the relations between landlord and tenant. Only so can you reap the full harvest of the Commission's labours.

You deplore the omission of rent, revenue and irrigation law from the subjects referred to the Royal Commission. But if you ponder the matter further, you will, I am sure, recognize that the terms of reference are very wide and that the matters already within the purview of the Commission are of a momentous nature. If they had been asked to consider yet more subjects, and in particular, subjects requiring specialist knowledge of infinitely varying conditions in all parts of the country, and of a more controversial nature than those with which they are immediately concerned, I fear that Lord Linlithgow's Commission might well have found their task unmanageable, or at least that they would have found it difficult to give precision to their conclusions.

We shall await with interest, and I hope shall consider with sympathy, any recommendations which your association has to put forward upon the matters referred to in the fifth paragraph of your address. But touching your request for the re-introduction of the Land Revenue (Settlement) Bill in the Legislative Council, I must gently, but quite clearly, repudiate any suggestion that my Government have made any promises which they have failed to honour. As I have already said, the Government regret that the Council declined to pass the Bill in a form which we could accept, but no one can justly allege that we have taken any unfair tactical advantage of the position. On the contrary, I have received spontaneous acknowledgements from many quarters that the Government have dealt liberally with the landlords by embodying in the settlement rules and in other orders all the main concessions which we offered in the Bill. The landlords are certainly in no worse position than if the Bill had become law, and in one important respect they are more favourably placed. Here in the Muzaffarnagar district you have had recent experience of a re-settlement. It was made under the old rules, and yet the landlords who are members of your association will, I believe, admit that the settlement was lenient and, in many cases,

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of actual benefit to them. But if that is so, the increased liberality of the new rules is the measure by which you can gauge how much lighter still the settlements of the future are likely to be. I have no doubt whatever that, even though the Settlement Bill has not been brought upon the statute book, the land revenue policy of the Government will continue, in an even greater degree than before, to be broadminded, liberal and consistent.

Your address goes on to suggest a reduction of the irrigation rates for water supplied from the state canals. For forty-five years, from 1878 till 1923, those rates remained unaltered. But you know, as well as I do, gentlemen, that during that generation and a half the cash value of the crop which the water brought to maturity had risen manifold, while on the other hand the cost of maintaining the canal system had so greatly increased with the general rise in prices that some of the canals were ceasing to pay. I think that my predecessor's Government were right in resolving to make a moderate enhancement. The increased charges represented only a fraction of the increased money value of the water. My Government have since retracted a part even of the enhancement which Sir Harcourt Butler's Government announced. The rates as they now stand are lower than those of the districts of the Punjab close by you, and far below those prevailing in the Bombay Presidency. I see no sign that the charge is a burden to the cultivator. We know that the cost of irrigation from canals is much lower than from any other source. The rates clearly do not represent the full economic value of the water; for if they did, the rent rate of wet land would be the same as of dry, whereas it is about fifty per cent higher. The economic truth is that the state canals have called into existence a great unearned increment, much of which, in spite of the light owner's rate, is already passing to the landlord in the form of the higher rents which he receives for canal-irrigated land. A decrease of the water rates would enable the landlord to take an even larger share of the unearned increment, to the production of which he has not contributed. The state would necessarily suffer, but the cultivator would not necessarily benefit. The Government would not, therefore, be justified in accepting a request which would give an undue advantage to one class at the expense of the general

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taxpayer. I must remind you that we have not yet secured the remission of the ninety-nine lakhs to which you refer—and in any case I can assure you that there are many claims on it.

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Gentlemen, I have left over for final consideration one important point in your address. You raise the question of effecting a union with the two sister landlord associations of the United Provinces. Upon this point I must reply to you with circumspection. I agree that it would be a great gain to the public life of the province at the present time if all the landlords could organize themselves into a united body, formulate a clear and vigorous policy, and work together in close harmony for the common good. Your order is qualified, by birth and by position, to take a lead in shaping the destinies of the province ; its tradition and its natural inclination are all towards sanity, stability and well-ordered progress. But with the march of events organization, system and discipline become to an increasing extent essential elements of success. I think that your instinct is a sound one. Union makes for strength, when there is real community of aim ; but when different bodies have somewhat differing purposes, organic union (as has been seen repeatedly in other spheres) means that one or all of the parties must abandon in some measure the pursuit of their own peculiar aims. I do not know whether in this particular case men's minds have been prepared sufficiently ; and I am not sure whether either of the other associations would welcome an attempt on the part of the Government or the Governor to take the initiative. Therefore, while I am quite ready to bring your wishes to the notice of the other two associations, and quite willing, to the best of my ability, to assist, if they share your views, in giving effect to them, I still feel that the motive power for union must come from within and not from without. No constitution which the wit of men may devise can be more than a framework of dry bones, unless it is quickened by the spirit which will make them live.

HINDUSTANI ACADEMY, LUCKNOW

GENTLEMEN,—The institution which we formally inaugurate to-day is the youngest of three enterprises which owe their origin to my colleague, the Education Minister's love of the arts and letters of his country. He had already initiated a gallery of Indian painting and a college of Indian music. He has now addressed himself to the cause of vernacular literature. He seeks to stimulate interest and activity in the writing and reading of Urdu and Hindi, to safeguard the purity of the language and to raise the standard of books written in it. But if I understand him aright, his purposes are not merely those of the scholar, but those of the statesman too. He seeks to provide people in these provinces with what in many countries is regarded as almost as natural an endowment as the air of heaven itself, a generous heritage of books in their mother-tongue to which ordinary people can turn for profit and enjoyment.

I am not sure whether this project of a Hindustani Academy is not the most difficult of all the tasks which my colleague has set himself. I need not tell you, I hope, that I am heartily in sympathy with his aims. I believe so intensely in the power for good of an ample indigenous literature, that I am heartily glad that during my time of office one of my Ministers has had the vision to see that there is a great need to be supplied, and the courage to make an attempt to supply it. But difficulties are unmistakable. In the first place, I suppose it is safe to say that the best intellects of the country have, from force of circumstance, become mainly absorbed with English—the language of higher education, of the ablest journalism, and of most political discussion. The best brains in the country have been somewhat lured away from concern with the mother-tongue. Intellectual leaders have been used to addressing themselves in English to men of like interests with themselves, and have not striven to find readers in the vernacular because they were concerned with matters which were ordinarily beyond the ken of those who did not know English. Therefore, those with a good vernacular

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education who might have been encouraged to read books, if they had had them, have for the most part lacked books. The output of both Hindi and Urdu books has been much too meagre in volume and far too restricted in character. We seem to turn out in these provinces about 2,000 books a year, but that total includes some periodicals, some reprints and some translations. If our official figures are correct, I do not think the original fresh matter can amount to more than 1,000 books a year, and most of these are concerned with religion, poetry, politics and fiction. Very few original books are produced about art, philosophy, history, science, biography or travel. Inquiry from trade sources shows that books on religion and morality sell freely; but that school books come next. The sales of works of fiction and poetry and 'other books' are described as moderate. Now it is open to argument whether books create readers, or whether the demand for reading matter, or rather the hunger for amusement and enlightenment, creates books. History seems to show that the two things go together. No doubt we need to improve and to expand our vernacular education, to foster the habit of reading in schools, and by all means open to us to widen and deepen people's interest. But it seems as if there was plenty of room, too, for applying a direct stimulus to authorship.

To tell you the truth, I was at first blush somewhat disquieted about the proposed term, 'Academy'. To English ears the name savours a little too much of Richelieu or Napoleon. The purpose which the founders of the French Academy set formally before themselves was this: 'to labour with all diligence to give exact rules to our language and to render it pure, eloquent and capable of treating the arts and sciences'. There are those, especially in France, who believe that the Academy has succeeded in its aim; that it has done a great work in purifying taste, and that we owe to it the form, method, clarity, precision, delicacy and flexibility which admittedly characterize the language of France, and particularly its prose. Matthew Arnold, as the Minister has reminded us, was emphatic in its praise. He welcomed the Academy as a bulwark against the chaos, coarseness and eccentricity which revolted him; he wanted it to be a rallying-point for educated opinion, and to speak with the authority of a

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master in matters of taste and tone. On the other hand, some democratically-minded French authorities have denounced it roundly. They have condemned it as the child of a despotic age, inheriting the tendencies of the time, a home of intrigue and favouritism, incapable of sustained effort, occupied with learned trifles, wasting itself in childish tournaments, and with a peculiar faculty for turning men of genius into mere wits. This is simply putting into prose what Keats has expressed in a splendid passage of his poem, 'Sleep and Poetry', about the people who 'swayed about on a rocking-horse, and thought it Pegasus'. I lay both opinions before you; but I think that the average Englishman agrees with Keats rather than with Matthew Arnold. Many Englishmen believe—I believe, myself—that we have a finer language and a nobler literature than the French have. We know that its purity and melody are nowadays threatened by many pernicious influences—by a cheap press, by worthless magazines, by low-bred innovations, and especially by the diction of the cinema, which seems (I regret to say) to be perceptibly invading the language of news-telegrams also. Lovers of good English have taken alarm, and are concerting various measures of defence. But there is a general recognition that the campaign must be waged by democratic methods; and even in these days of comparative peril to our language, hardly a voice is raised in favour of instituting a British Academy.

If, therefore, I could imagine this infant of my colleague's ever growing up to be a crabbed and pedantic dictator, I should not be here to attend its investiture with the sacred thread. But I do not see why that need happen. Conditions are quite different, and I do not see my colleague's new creation readily acquiring Star-Chamber powers. I prefer to think of the members of this Academy as called upon to foster a nascent industry; intent to encourage rather than to repress, to fertilize rather than to prune, to diversify rather than to formalize. They are gardeners, whose task it is to grow the flowers in the garden, and not to arrange the cut blooms in vases. And, as their main business is one of creation and production, it is unwise to attempt to prescribe methods in advance with overmuch precision. I think that the Government resolution was wise as

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well as cautious in leaving questions of method as far as possible to the President and the Fellows. So that if I go on to suggest some means that occur to me of pursuing the object in view, I trust that no one will mistake me as intending to do more than proffering matter for their consideration.

In the first place, I plead for real enthusiasm and personal effort. For the Fellowship roll of the Academy we have tried to enlist many of those who are most competent to help throughout the province. I hope that they will all regard themselves as personal propagandists in a good cause, and that all, singly as well as collectively, will do their best to help. Some of them can deliver addresses or read papers on literary topics within their special ken ; some can interest themselves in the formation of reading circles in towns ; some can take a personal interest in the travelling libraries or village libraries. I prefer to think of the Academy not as an isolated institution, but as part and parcel of that concentrated movement, of the need for which I have spoken before now, for the vivification and enlightenment of the whole countryside. I hope that every member of the Academy will feel that he has a real and important cause to fight for. I have no hope that much will come of the movement if it lacks the impulse of personal enthusiasm ; and if it is forced to fall back for its effects mainly upon the headquarters meetings of the executive committee and the conduct of correspondence by the permanent staff.

Secondly, I should like to see it arranged, by legislation if necessary, for a copy of every vernacular book published in the United Provinces to be sent to the Academy ; and for the Academy, by such arrangement, combined I hope with judicious weeding, to get together a comprehensive library of all the best vernacular books. It might also, I suggest, undertake in future the annual review of vernacular publications, an enterprise which the Government seem of late years to have abandoned—possibly, for reasons of economy. If the Academy succeeds in pronouncing a just and critical review of the important productions of the year it will do much to establish itself in men's respect. I think it worth consideration, too—in spite of what I have said about formalism—whether the Academy, following the French example,

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might not eventually adopt the practice of 'crowning' a few works of outstanding merit, provided that the honour were rigidly restricted to books of quite unusual quality.

A subsidiary, but not a trivial point is, I think, that the Academy should insist on quality as well quantity—in the production of books. There are some excellent printing presses in the province, and I have noticed a great improvement in much of their output during recent years. That is a very favourable sign, by which we ought to profit. I know that prices must be kept down if many people are to buy : but within economic limits let me put in a word for having good print and better paper—and, when illustrations are desirable, better-drawn pictures too.

To come to my main point, however, it seems to me that the outstanding need of the moment is to stimulate the production of good original books. I devoutly hope that the Academy will not tend to become mainly a factory of works for the consideration of text-book committees. I realize that some people regard the Academy as affording a great opportunity for making the vernacular the medium for communicating Western knowledge to the people. With all possible respect to their opinion, that is not my idea of its especial function. It may be true that, in spite of the fact that English is the language of higher study, our students in middle schools need more translations from foreign languages of the best books on such subjects as history, literature and science, especially in its application to practical matters like agriculture, industries and public health. Nonetheless, I hope that the production of translations will never be more than a secondary activity—a by-product—of the Academy. I hope that it will concentrate upon the production of original books : books which are essentially Indian, and indeed primarily provincial, in thought. Its function, as I see it, is not so much to attend to the forms of language or to convey technical knowledge, as to foster a literature. And if that literature is to be a living, beneficial thing it must be no parasite, but an independent growth. There is already too much that is derivative about our Hindi and Urdu books.

The great development of modern literature in Western countries in recent times has been the amazing spread of the novel.

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We are inclined, perhaps, to disparage fiction, except at the hands of a few admitted masters ; and to treat it as the nearest literary approach to the cinema ; a series of moving pictures which flatters the senses while making the smallest possible appeal to the judgment. I cannot deny that some modern best-sellers deserve so hard a judgment. But the novel takes many forms ; and the novel which makes the best appeal is not the narrative of history or adventure or crime, but the story of the ordinary man. Most readers enjoy reading about other people of a like kind to themselves, because they feel as if they were enlarging their acquaintance and experience, making new friends, seeing new lights on life and enriching their own personal content. ' We ourselves can only lead one life, but by virtue of books we can live thousands of lives.' We read to escape from our own dullness or depression, our own penury, our own too tame affairs. Apart from any reasons of training or development, men need to read as a recreation, a relaxation, and a happiness. For this service the novel is particularly effective. The good story always holds the reader by making him feel that he is part of what he is reading ; the hero's difficulties and blunders and successes are his own. Now, apart from all other reasons why we have so little original vernacular literature—such as the want of a leisured class and the lack of a reading habit—may not one reason be that people have not yet succeeded in producing the right sort of story for the Indian reading public ? We want to encourage travelling libraries and village libraries. But I am told that there is a great dearth of good books suitable for the purpose. Why should this necessarily be so ? No one imagines that Indians are indifferent to narrative. We know that they are not. Perhaps they have been offered the wrong sort of matter. I have seen ingenious adaptations to an Indian setting of up-to-date Western stories of adventure and crime retold in the vernacular ; and I have seen stories of Indian domestic life written in a form of English which seems to be modelled on rubbishy bookstall magazines. Both struck me as exotic and almost as unhealthy. But is there any reason why natural and sincere stories should not be written and read in the vernacular about the ordinary things of Indian life ?

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The subject matter is surely rich enough. The battle with nature in this country is as keen and adventurous as in the western states of America, where it has been almost epically treated. The struggle for livelihood or learning is as real and inspiring as it has been for generations of Scottish students. There must be room for stories which would bring out the strong appeal of religion to the Indian mind. The perennial problems of life—birth, death, marriage and the upbringing of children—have an interest which transcends the bounds of geography and time. The characters to be found among our people—the country gentleman, the yeoman farmer, the lawyer, the merchant, the journalist, the returned soldier, the student, the saint, and last, but not least, the various types of sinners—are just as rich in literary value as in the pages of Scott or Balzac. It needs, I believe, only the understanding and the sympathy of the artist to turn them into books which will go to the heart of the people, books which people will buy and read because they satisfy a personal need.

I have dwelt first upon the possibilities of indigenous fiction, because it seems to me the readiest, the widest, and the most fruitful field of all to cultivate. Next to it may we not hope to see the national life enriched with a great development of vernacular poetry? The spirit of men is stirring, imagination is awake; why should not feeling express itself in worthy poems? I am told that our vernacular poetry at present runs mainly to narrative verse, and is either too literary for the masses, or else is too much like doggerel for the lovers of letters. If indigenous poetry is to have a future, I think that a conscious effort may be needed, on the one hand, to get away from the language of convention which, perhaps from old association with court life, characterizes some Indian poetry, and on the other hand to give purity of form and breadth of content to the very rough verse of common consumption. I speak subject to correction from those who can judge far better than I can, but it seems to me that the simple songs of the countryside are in some ways a clearer fount of inspiration than some of the recognized masters. Or at least I think there is some basis for that suggestion in the way in which some of our purer English lyrics of to-day derive their inspira-

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tion from Elizabethan days. There is natural beauty enough in India to inspire men to song. I hope that the Academy will seek out and encourage her singers.

On the subject of translations I have already touched with some reserve. They may be a utilitarian necessity; but never let us mistake them for really creative activity. I incline to believe that in so far as you encourage translation you may positively impede higher work. The vital thing surely is not to find your words for other people's ideas, but to find your own ideas as well as your own words in which to put them. But if translations into the vernacular there must be, then I hope that the Academy will look closely to one point. Translation is a relatively ignoble office; its one faint hope of acquiring merit lies in its being decently done. But the work can never be well done if it is entrusted to hack writers, however well-intentioned or deserving. Mechanical reproduction is lifeless, and may even be life-destroying. Let us be sure that the translator of a technical book knows not merely his Urdu and Hindi, but also thoroughly understands the subject which he is handling; and let his performance be appraised by judges with similar knowledge.

Let us pass on to another point. The Government resolution which created the Academy recognizes Urdu and Hindi as twin vernaculars of the province, and embraces them both in the possibly unscientific but innocuous title of Hindustani. Now, if I believed that one untoward consequence of the Academy's creation would be to blow up the embers of linguistic controversy, I might have left my colleague's scheme severely alone. I do not believe that any such consequence ought to ensue. Rai Rajeshar Bali said of music, I remember, that in its harmonies all political discords were drowned; the Muse came to bring peace on earth and not dissension. So should it be also with the noble service of letters. Speech was given to men for intercourse and not for severance. But it seems to me likely that from the outset certain questions will arise for settlement, and I should like the Council of the Academy to turn them over carefully in their minds. I am not going to dogmatize upon the question whether Hindi and Urdu are one language or two. I confine myself to the safe and un-

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exceptionable statement that they have something in common and something not in common. As you know, in dealing with this question of the vernacular, the aim of Government has simply been the very practical one of finding a working solution for use in schools; and with that intention a certain volume of vernacular literature has been brought into being, for use in the earlier stages of education, which may be looked upon as common to both Urdu and Hindi. That expedient may have served its strictly limited purpose not too badly; but it seems to me impossible that the Academy, in its desire to stimulate and to develop both forms of the vernacular, can rest content with such a narrow consummation. I agree generally with an article which I read recently by some anonymous Indian writer. 'Literary grace and idiomatic charm', he said 'are possible in the highest degree only in case of organic, individualized linguistic existence. Enforced combinations by Government committees can only produce mechanical language devoid of all beauty. . . . Wisdom does not seem to lie in the direction of artificial control of linguistic and literary development.'

Whether as a student of language or as a lover of literature, I cannot quarrel with these propositions. If Hindi and Urdu are to yield their best, they must each enjoy a natural freedom of growth. Nonetheless, let us, as practical men, consider carefully what reactions may ensue unless we guard against them. There is a risk that literary gains may be offset by civic losses. Divergence of language, in so far as it weakens the link between Hindu and Muslim in northern India, is in itself no blessing; but if attempts were made deliberately to further the divergence for political ends, I should be prepared to denounce them as a form of treason to the commonwealth. The matter is palpably not one for rule or definition. It must be left to the good sense and moderation of all concerned. The ideal would be for every writer in Hindi to write as if he wished to find Muslim readers, and vice versa. That may be too much to hope for. But it is not too much to hope that the Academy will set its face firmly against any attempts to give either branch of the vernacular a distinctly sectarian, and therefore a non-popular, form. If, for example, Urdu writers import into current literature highly

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artificial Arabic phrases, such as some of those which used to embellish police diaries when I last heard them read some years ago ; or if Hindi authors strain themselves to load their vocabulary with heavy elements of Sanskrit, then they both are committing a twofold misdemeanour. In the first place, they are deliberately pulling themselves and their readers a step further away from the other half of the community. That, no doubt, is an offence against civic relations rather than against literature. But in the process they are also making their books incomprehensible to the average man ; and that is a sin against the aims and objects of the Academy, which I trust that its governing body will be strict to reprehend.

It remains for me only to congratulate my colleague upon his new venture ; to congratulate ourselves upon having secured for the presidency of the new Academy so eminent a lover of literature and so distinguished a man of affairs as Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru ; to thank him and his colleagues upon the Council for having accepted office ; to declare the Academy duly inaugurated ; and to express a heartfelt hope that, under the wise guidance which it will enjoy, it may be the means of vastly encouraging and uplifting the vernacular literature of the United Provinces, and of bringing the blessings of books written in their own tongue to tens of thousands of new readers. If it can do that, it will come to be acknowledged as by no means least among the beneficent agencies of the present time.

DISTRICT BOARD, MIRZAPUR

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,—

* * * * *

I have referred to nearly all the subjects raised in your address. You will, I hope, allow me now to give you a little friendly advice. In the first place, there seems to me a

August 8, 1927 little too much, perhaps, of the visionary and theoretical about your address; and not quite enough of the concrete and practical. In representing each of your problems—and always in rather general terms—you have expressed the unvarying hope that Government will come to your assistance with a grant. This is, of course, the easiest and pleasantest way to finance your needs. But local self-government does not merely, nor chiefly, mean the distribution and spending of provincial grants by local bodies. These bodies must realize that provincial funds cannot, and should not be expected to, meet all local demands; and that they must themselves explore and pursue ways and means of achieving their objects, whether by economy in expenditure or by finding new sources of income. These are the criteria by which the business capacity of local bodies will be judged. But your address is silent upon either point. Last year you resolved to raise additional revenue by imposing a tax on circumstances and property; but a few months later you decided, without giving any reasons for doing so, to drop the idea. It is clear from your address to-day that you need money for several purposes, notably for the provision of good wells in the Dudhi and Robertsganj tahsils. I am very glad that the needs of these outlying and backward areas are not forgotten. I know that wells are needed and that the difficulties of construction are serious; and yet, from the nature of the case, the problem is primarily a local and not a provincial one. I put it to you frankly that your claims for further assistance from provincial revenues will be far stronger and that your appeal may find readier hearing if you will first show your readiness to shoulder your own burdens to the utmost, prove that you realize that local self-government

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involves responsibilities as well as power, and imitate the example of bolder boards by taking the difficult but necessary step of adding to your own resources by local taxation.

What I have said to you, gentlemen, I should say to any other local bodies in similar difficulty. This is your hour of opportunity and trial. When money is short, it is not the time to be dreaming of great schemes of universal compulsory education, of great bridges over mighty rivers; but to be intent on progress by humbler stages—here a little, and there a little; of adding ‘one to one’, as the poet says, ‘till the hundred’s soon hit’. On your local bodies particularly at the present juncture lies a twofold responsibility. The first is obvious: it is your obligation as trustees for the ratepayers to use their money honestly and wisely, with as near as may be the same sense of responsibility as if you were spending from your own pockets. The second is wider, vaguer, and more distant; but nonetheless real. It is so to conduct your affairs in this field of district administration as to demonstrate your capacity to handle public business on the provincial scale. I think this latter may be the heavier obligation of the two.

NAINI TAL CLUB DINNER

GENTLEMEN,—If I begin with something a little remote from the President's speech, it is because I wish to take the last opportunity remaining to me of saying a word about

October 1, 1927 the Naini Tal Club. I do not know who is the oldest member present—perhaps Mr. Simmons or Mr. McNair or Mr. Simpson—but I have been a member for the respectable period of twenty-eight years. And I remember well that twenty-eight years ago, at this time of the year, there was only one topic of conversation in the Club. Sir George White and his divisions had either reached Durban or were nearing it, and the one question was—did the Boers mean to fight? A few days later, on October 9th, came the ultimatum. The Government did not move down that year till October 30th. I do not know why; I cannot imagine that Sir Antony MacDonnell was more solicitous for the personal convenience of his officers than the present Government is. But it was on October 22nd, in that reading room, that we got the news of the battle of Talana Hill and the news of General Penn Symons, who had commanded in Meerut and was a friend of many members of the Club, being killed; and I think we envisaged the attack on the Boer position much as if it had been the storming of Cheena from the level of the lake.

Well, now that my time is drawing to an end, I should like to say that this Club has been associated in my memory with many old friendships, many happy gatherings, and I do not think with a single unpleasant incident; which is, perhaps, more than can be said of most clubs. I have seen it expand steadily in wealth and amenities. It probably is not perfect even yet, especially in the opinion of those who occupy the residential quarters. But those in charge of it are alive to the possibility of betterment and may be trusted to improve matters still further. I do not believe it has ever been better run than it is now. Metaphorically speaking, I take my hat off to the Naini Tal Club—the first club I ever belonged to—and I shall always remember it kindly, and wish it well.

NAINI TAL CLUB DINNER

You, Mr. President, have very kindly alluded to the fact that this is my last appearance at a dinner like this one. It is so; and I assure you that I am heartily sorry. But I am not fond of swan-songs, and I do not propose to-night to talk about autumn tints and the fall of the leaf—especially as the moral of this year's Naini Tal week is far from being one of senescence and decay.

I suppose that a matter upon which there has always been the most marked division of opinion is the question whether the present generation are not hopelessly inferior to their fathers; or, on the contrary, whether they do not conspicuously surpass them. There is from very old days high authority for either view. During the past ten years or so we of the services have, on the whole, been told not merely that our day is over; not merely that we are behind the times; not merely that the work we are doing is out of date; but that even as workmen at our unwanted job we are much less good craftsmen than those who came before us. No, I do not say it is true; but I do say that it has certainly been said. There was certainly for a time a shadow over the land. Some men thought it was not good enough to stay—and went. Recruitment fell off at home. And those who remained had begun to have the feeling: 'superfluous lags the veteran on the stage'.

Well, to go into the causes which have wrought a change would be a long story, and this is not the occasion. But that there is a change no one can doubt. If you ask the men who are coming out to India nowadays whether they are not very sorry that they were misguided enough to adopt such a miserable career, they seem on the whole rather surprised at the question. And we heard only the other day that home recruitment for my own service was better than ever. The tree is still vigorous at the root.

Whether it is still sound in the upper branches it is not for Sir Sam or myself to say. But I feel glad to think that the last autumn week which I shall ever attend in Naini Tal has done something to show that the I.C.S. is at least not physically moribund towards the top. The President has already given you some figures. But statistics can be presented in various ways. I will put it that veterans of an average age of forty-six have

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won the polo. Another set of veterans of like age have won the tennis ; while golf, which is too often regarded as the pursuit of extreme senility, was won by a team whose average years were only a little over forty. But it is fair to say that the average was brought down by the presence of two comparatively juvenile performers.

Now I certainly shrink from drawing some other of the more personal comparisons which suggest themselves between the representatives of this age and the past ; but this I must say, that yesterday's performance of the winning team at polo was calculated to warm the heart of any member of my service who remembered the great days of Hoare and Last and Edwards ; and with that I will ask you to drink to the health of the visiting teams, coupled with a name of a Senior Wrangler and a Military Cross.

INDUSTRIAL EXHIBITION, LUCKNOW

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—You are about to see a comprehensive exhibition of the products of the Technological Institute and the technical schools of the province, which
December 20, has been got together by the Director, under the
1927 orders of the Minister for Industries, with the object of stimulating interest in the schools and showing what part they play in the industrial development of the United Provinces.

This is the second exhibition of its kind ; and it is hoped to hold such an exhibition annually. Upon the value of such undertakings I need not dwell ; inasmuch as that was made abundantly clear in the Minister's speech at the opening of the Cawnpore exhibition a year ago. Nor need I speak in detail about the exhibition which you will shortly appraise for yourselves. It is a varied and representative collection of textiles, hosiery, dyeing and printing, leather, tanning, art work, chemical products, wood work, and engineering plants and models.

I want to make this exhibition the occasion for reviewing, as best I can, some of the wider aspects of the industrial problem in these provinces. The need for industrial development is acknowledged. We need more industries to broaden the base of our economic existence, and to relieve the heavy man-pressure on the soil of the country ; to increase our production of wealth and to raise the standard of living. We need industries to open up fresh careers for lads in need of a livelihood ; to secure the Indian market for Indian-made goods ; to give a practical bent to men's minds, and to help to bring India more closely into the life of the modern world. On the other hand, there are obvious difficulties. Nature, in the capricious distribution of her bounties, has imposed certain limitations on us. We have neither coal nor oil nor mineral wealth. Hydro-electric power is a possibility on a limited scale. Therefore, apart from cottage industries, which depend on manual labour, we must base ourselves either on agriculture or forest products. Cotton, leather, sugar, timber, lac, oil-seeds are our assets, with which, whether raw or manufactured,

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we must pay for the power or the machinery that we import from beyond our borders. But, apart from natural limitations, other difficulties arise the moment we begin to contemplate the organization of industry on something beyond the cottage scale. There is the competition of foreign goods; there is lack of purchasing power; there is traditional distaste for manual occupations; there is inexperience and a certain distrust of joint stock enterprises. No wonder that any Government, while admitting its responsibility for doing what it can to promote industry, should have at times felt baffled and doubtful of its course.

How, indeed, could it be otherwise? Industry is not a subject that can be studied and taught like mathematics. It is not merely or mainly a means of livelihood; it is essentially a creative process. Progress is not seen in the multiplication of salaried appointments; progress consists in creating more things which people want and will buy, so that the sum total of real wealth in the country is increased. The real test of merit is fertility. If a man has the productive faculty within him, it will serve him better as an industrialist than if he lacks that quality but holds an M.Sc. degree. Good education, of course, trains a man in observation and reflection; but do not let us make the mistake of basing our schemes too heavily on academic qualifications. For the methods of industry are essentially empirical. Its essence lies in finding out how to do things by trying to do them; and the spur and secret of successful industry is that a man is working for himself. His wits are sharpened and his energies braced, because he is dependent for success on his own efforts. Any government department or any government officials advising on industrial questions, or temporarily managing a pioneer concern, may be as acute, thoughtful and disinterested as you like; but they must remain amateurs at best, because they are not working under real practical conditions. In this matter we non-industrialists are all amateurs. There is no shame about that. But the fact is ample explanation of our failure to do more than we have done.

It is certainly not effort that has been lacking. We have tried many methods at various times or simultaneously. We have sought to encourage research, and we have taught the results of research; we have had pioneer factories run by Government; we

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have set young scientists from the universities to make industrial surveys ; we have given scholarships for foreign study ; we have made loans and even grants to nascent industries ; we have had exhibitions and a stall at Wembley ; we have issued bulletins ; we have tried to invoke the agency of co-operative credit, and we have started numerous technical schools.

I think it will be agreed that industrial enterprise in these provinces falls into about four main categories, even if the lines of demarcation cannot always be drawn exactly. There is the industry of the village craftsman : the blacksmith, the potter, the *barhai*, who is making things for his own use and for a purely local clientèle. Then there is the cottage industry of the man who works at home, but draws his raw materials from outside and seeks a wider market. Then there are the smaller organized industries, requiring some capital and generally some form of mechanical power—the sugar and oil mills, the cotton gins, glass works, furniture works and the like. And, finally, there are the great established industries concentrated almost entirely at Cawnpore. And the problems of each of these categories are different problems.

The Cawnpore mills are practically independent of any Government assistance. They have achieved success unaided. They need no technical advice ; they provide their own experts ; they can train their own skilled labour. Their problems are mainly all-India problems—matters of tariffs, of railway rates, of taxation, of factory and commercial legislation. We can help them indirectly in various ways, and they can and do help us immensely. It is a fallacy to imagine that established industry views with a jealous eye the struggles of nascent industry to make good. Whatever tends to increase production and the purchasing power of the people must be a gain to the great concerns. I say that we should hold it firmly in mind not only that Cawnpore is a matter of pride and strength to the province ; not only is it a great producer and diffuser of material wealth ; not only, let me add, that it has never failed to respond generously to all patriotic and public-spirited causes ; but also that it is our ally, and not our antagonist, in the matter of industrial promotion generally in the province ; and that the example and

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advice of men who have achieved practical success themselves is an asset of immense value to us in dealing with our own difficulties.

The problem of Government encouragement for what I have called the smaller organized industries is very obscure. Their primary need is capital; and the first essential for that is stability and civic peace. Uncertainty about the future, arising from political unrest or communal dissension or any sudden change in the form of government, frightens capital away. Government's first aim must be to induce and to maintain a feeling of civic security. Secondly, we have ourselves tried pioneer industries and handed them over to private enterprise. I do not think that the command of superior financial resources is an advantage which outweighs the other obvious drawbacks to state management. I doubt if past experience will encourage a speedy renewal of such attempts. Again, we are trying to help by turning out technically-trained men at the Technological Institute and the higher technical schools. But these cannot altogether meet the difficulty of imparting the practical element. We have it on high authority that 'actual works experience must be obtained at some stage or another in the student's career, and this can only be given in a factory working under commercial conditions'. Nor can you train apprentices and at the same time give them theoretical instruction in small factories. For assistance in this respect it seems to me we must still look to the big enterprises—the railway workshops and the large private mills. Yet another way of helping the smaller organized industries is by loans or grants; but here, also, as in running pioneer concerns themselves, the Government are always on uncertain ground. Questions of method of production and of marketing are not their daily business, and text-book theories are of less than no use. We endeavour to arrive at sound decisions by consulting those who are qualified to give it by banking or industrial experience; but I cannot say that the results have been very encouraging.

On the whole, we have found it safest to put our main effort into technical schools—the immediate matter before us, since this exhibition is their annual flowering and this gathering includes many of their masters and pupils. I am glad to say that in

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recent years there has been a large increase in the number of such schools. We are now spending roughly ten and a half lakhs on thirty government and seventy-eight aided schools—schools for weaving, cloth-printing, leather, carpentry, and brass and iron work and the like, and in this collection you may see for yourselves the admirable work that they are turning out.

Excellent and interesting as is much of this work, I hesitate to accept it by itself as proof positive of success attained. It is not enough that the boys should be taught to do work of quality, or that people should come to the school and purchase. We want to see carpenters, weavers, tanners in every town and large village, running their own workshops and making their living by producing work of good quality. Until the influence of a school is visible in its neighbourhood; until it can point to numbers of its ex-students actually making better leather or better furniture than their untrained competitors, and so setting a standard, and seeking out new methods of earning, and saving money so as to become employers—it is too early to claim success for a school. Something of this process is taking place; but, so far as I can learn, not nearly enough. I have looked into the information available. It shows that the proportion of students who have started on their own lines is largest in those industries which can be started with small capital, like weaving and leather. In the more ambitious industries—I am not thinking of things like engineering, which of course requires much capital—the proportion is still disappointing. Clearly the dominant inclination is still to look for jobs. Now I believe that the prosperity of the finished pupils is the touchstone. For this reason it is important that our schoolmasters should keep touch with those whom they have taught, and should regard their success or failure as the real test of the value of the training which they have given. If the passed students merely go on taking jobs in established firms, reproducing other people's methods and designs; if our art students are content to take photographs and colour them for a living—then we have not yet got down to the root of the matter.

Manual dexterity is obviously not enough. The boys must be taught to understand what the public needs and also how to market their goods. They must get it into their heads that a

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thān of cloth or a pair of shoes represents not merely a prize exhibit, but a sum in rupees to themselves. Our masters must have the commercial sense. They must not only know all about tools and design, but they must eliminate waste, use by-products, cost operations closely, and study the market—so as to test their pupils' work and teach them to test it for themselves, by the hard test of cash results which will be applied to it in real life.

To my mind, there is another obvious proof that we have not turned the corner yet. Whatever people value they will pay for. I know that there is competition to get into some of the schools; but that seems to be because we still give stipends. We not only give free tuition, but we pay boys to receive it. I am told that if we withdrew the stipends the boys would not come. This is surely worth thinking over. I know the argument that the artisan classes cannot send their boys to be trained, because they are too poor to do without the small earnings which their sons might make as untrained workmen. I am afraid that there is force in it. But I am not thinking chiefly of the artisan classes. We know that our intermediate colleges and high schools are overflowing; we know how middle-class parents stint themselves to give their boys a degree; we know how difficult it is for graduates to get suitable employment. We are constantly being pressed to look into this question of middle-class unemployment. Why, then, will parents not send their boys to free technical schools? Is it all lack of interest in manual occupations or distrust of them? Or some lingering of the old tradition that there is something subordinate or second-rate about engaging in production? Or force of habit and the lure of the black-coated professions? If this is the real obstacle, then the chief enemy to be slain is prejudice. But I hardly think that it can be.

You know the saying, 'money talks'. Is there any reason to suppose that Indians are slower than other people to avail themselves of any apparent opportunity of gain? We have then still to convince them; we have to demonstrate by example that boys trained in these schools can stand on their own feet, start their own workshops, rise in the world, and found families. Let us do that, and I am sure we shall have no difficulty in filling our schools, even if we charge the students fees instead of letting the

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students charge us. But if the schools have not yet convinced the public mind, I confess I think that the fault is partly with the public mind as well. I am told that we are not by any means getting the best and most intelligent boys even with stipends. I say to parents of the middle and professional classes, too, that it is for them to show more faith, both in the possibilities of industries and in the capacity of the schools to train their boys, and to send some of their better boys there. For if they will not, they are not helping us, as they ought, to deal with this problem of unemployment.

I speak, as I have already said, purely as an amateur, but I think we shall do wisely to put our main effort into utilitarian projects. In saying that, I hope I shall hurt no one's feelings. I do not mean that I am indifferent to the beauty of design or that I overlook the educative value of æsthetics. I think I have advocated the opposite view ere now. But, beautiful as such things are, I cannot myself think that Benares silks, Lucknow jewel work, Moradabad ornamental brass or Nagina ebony carving are going to do much in the sum total of things to serve our ends. They are sure of their market, but it is a limited market: a foreign market, or else a wealthy home market. It is the things that the ordinary people will buy that are going to help us most: boots and shoes rather than crocodile-skin suitcases; desks for schools rather than period furniture; rugs and *durries*; socks and mufflers, blankets and winter clothing, *newar*, baskets, pots and pans, locks, knives, soap, brushes, stationery materials, glass, matches, harness, steel boxes, village implements. I do not, of course, know what the limiting factors in each of these cases are, and some of my examples may strike the expert as absurd; but at all events I give them in illustration of the sort of objects on which I think we should specially concentrate. For these are what the ordinary man requires, and it is the home market that we should specially aim at.

The cottage industrialist is doubly hampered as long as he works in isolation. He needs to get his raw material at wholesale prices, and he needs to market his product to the best advantage; and for these purposes combination is very valuable. We have tried, and we are trying, to promote combination on a

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co-operative basis. We have had many failures. I have been studying the narrative of them. Some of the difficulties are obvious, as, for example, the lack of money for initial development and the risks of the co-operative buying of raw material on a fluctuating market. But others go deeper. Workers do not understand that the essence of success lies in co-operation. They do not put the common interests first; they play for their own hand; they share rebates illegitimately with outsiders; they try to adulterate; the society cannot guarantee quality, and its goods get a bad name. The members have not learned the first rules of the game. They do not understand that it pays to maintain standards; indeed, that the only hope of success lies that way. You may say that in that case the Government should maintain men for supervision and examination and grading. But, in the first place, that is very expensive; secondly, it is not co-operation. Co-operation comes by successfully arousing people to pull together, and in invoking not official control, but public opinion, to correct aberrations. I am not sure whether there is not work for some other agency before we can yet hope to turn on the co-operative stimulus successfully. The experience of some other countries suggests that while co-operative methods have often enormously stimulated a well-established cottage industry, its first organization has often been due to other agencies—in fact, to some one man, very likely out of the worker class himself, who, either out of philanthropy or business instincts, has introduced a new industry or organized the scattered workers in some struggling industry, and by supplying material and arranging marketing has conferred the material, though not the moral, benefits for which we hope from co-operation. There is scope for the public-spirited and far-sighted landlord here; scope also for the enterprising entrepreneur. The industries managed by the Salvation Army are a case in point. The Mirzapur carpet trade, perhaps the Moradabad brass trade, are others. The reason why our moneyed men in business in the United Provinces confine themselves to moneylending or to distributive trade may be partly due to lack of combination, partly to the comparative security of such business; but I think another reason is mere inertia and lack of enterprise. This is one class from which entrepreneurs

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should be forthcoming, as they have been forthcoming in Bombay. The openings here are less obvious and the prizes less glittering. I do not say that the thing is easy or that it can be done universally; but that much could be done, if promoters of sufficient enterprise were forthcoming who were willing to seek out good managers and pay them well, in such trades as leather working, weaving and hosiery, I think is very probable indeed.

On the subject of purely village industries I will touch very briefly and tentatively. I should like it to be at least considered whether there is any way of helping the local village craftsman also. Is it certain that his immemorial methods are the best? Is there nothing to be done to help the *barhai*, the *lohar*, the potter, the ropemaker or the *mochi*? Is there no inexpensive way of pressing *kachcha* bricks so as to make houses stand up better? No saving or improvement to be effected in, say, the making of cart-wheels or *charsas* or country shoes? We know that in one important industry—which partakes both of the nature of the cottage industry and what I have called the village industry—there is obvious scope for improvement. Hand-weaving is the occupation of lakhs of people; but fly-shuttle looms are numbered in a few tens of thousands. A cheap fly-shuttle loom, which could be made, sold and repaired in the village, would be an immense boon. Here, again, there is a great opportunity for public-spirited men of means to take the lead.

Let me try to sum up my ideas briefly in a few simple propositions. I think it comes to this. Industry is just as honourable a calling as any other, and more widely beneficial than some others. Secondly, it involves in a peculiar degree the element of personal risk, just as it holds out the prospect of great personal remuneration. Thirdly, success comes not by theorizing, but through experiment and error. Fourthly, not every man has the faculty for industry, but there is no reason at all for believing that our people as a whole are deficient in the faculty. Fifthly, there must be an initial stage of doubt and uncertainty, in which a helping hand is needed. Sixthly, it is possible for Government to help indirectly, but the people themselves can do much more. Men of means can give the initial impulse here and there, by advancing money or plant for materials, and persuading workers

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to combine. Faith, enterprise, diligence and combination seem the main key-words to success.

Meanwhile this exhibition will speak for itself. It will tell you that a great deal of patient, thorough, artistic effort is being put, in increasing measure year by year, into industrial output in these provinces. It ought to convince our severest critics that the Government have the matter thoroughly at heart ; and that the staff of the department are efficient. I hope that it will arouse interest in the subject and attract the help of which I have spoken. I congratulate the Minister and the Director and all those members of the staff of the department (whose names the Director has given) on the part they have played in making a success of the exhibition, and the Principals of the Technological Institute and technical schools, Government and aided—yes, and their pupils, too—on the attractive display which has resulted from their joint efforts ; and I now declare the exhibition formally open.

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DARBARIS OF THE ALLAHABAD DIVISION,—In another nine days a new Governor will succeed me in office; and I want to take this opportunity of telling you what I think
January 5, 1928 about the responsible charge which I shall hand over to him.

My Government have not lacked what is generally considered to be good for all governments—the benefit of persistent and forcible criticism. There are those who have made it quite clear to us what they think of the administration of the past five years. If I agreed with them, I should, I hope, feel as unhappy about it as they appear to be. But the opinion of the outside critic, whether friendly or hostile, is not the only tribunal before which a retiring Governor has to appear. If he has taken his office at all seriously, he has to search his own mind, look over the record for himself, and withstand his own cross-examination at the moment of laying office down.

First, let me say one word about the aims which my Government have sought to keep before them. We have tried to remember that we were trustees for the good administration and happiness of the province as a whole, and that (except in certain special circumstances, which were clearly pointed out to us) we were not meant to be the champions of any narrower interest—minorities, official, or what not. We were not to play off class against class; we were to compose and not to arouse dissensions; we were to deal with all men equally, without fear or favour. I hope that the ordinary man believes that to have been our purpose. I regret that there should be any who may think that we have not succeeded. But even they, perhaps, are not entitled to maintain that we have not tried.

Further, we have set our faces against either extravagant or speculative expenditure. We took office under very gloomy financial conditions. We searched out and enforced economies. It is quite true that we did not adopt some economies suggested to us, but we adopted all that we thought safe, and many that we

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regretted. Moreover, in so far as funds were available, we have tried not to indulge in our own predilections, but to give priority to the objects which Indian opinion most approved. Transferred departments have had the lion's share of the spoil. Our budgets have always been settled by agreement between the two halves of the Government; there has never been need for the Governor to make a temporary allocation of funds; and, though we have had our disappointments, I am on the whole fairly well satisfied with the financial prospects which we are leaving to our successors.

Thirdly, we have sought to administer the constitution faithfully, according to the rules prescribed for us. We have tried to give the legislature and Ministers fully that share in shaping the course of the administration which the constitution lays down for them. To adopt the words of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, each side of the Government has tried to advise and assist the other, without attempting to control or impede it. Whatever my own opinions have been, I have not withstood my Ministers, except in the very rare cases in which I honestly believed it, according to my Instrument of Instructions, to be my duty to withstand them. But I have withstood, and should again withstand, occasional attempts to use the power of the legislature so as to encroach on spheres which are reserved for Parliament and the Secretary of State, because that is not the way in which I believe that it was ordained that alterations of the Indian constitution should be made. Anyone who examines the action taken upon the resolutions and budget votes of the legislature in the reserved subjects in my time will find that the Governor in Council has accepted them in the great majority of cases. In relatively few cases he has refused to do so, but always after full and anxious consideration. On his refusal in these cases have been based accusations of reaction or of disloyalty to the constitution. Now this is a cardinal point; and I am anxious to summarize my views upon it as clearly as I can. I know that there are passages in Mr. Montagu's speeches which suggest that he personally hoped that even in the administration of the reserved subjects the Governor should conduct himself as if he were already responsible to the legislature; that is to say, that he should make his decisions conform to the wishes of the legislature.

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But, with the greatest possible respect to his memory, I cannot but reflect that that is not what the Indian Reforms Report proposed; it is not what the Joint Parliamentary Committee advised; it is not what the Government of India Act lays down; and in any crucial case it is not compatible with the Governor in Council's responsibility to Parliament. I might give you a dozen quotations. I will give you two. The Reforms Report says: 'No Governor in Council is likely, without real reason, to disregard the wishes of the Legislative Council; and we hold that, if he has real reasons, he ought to disregard them in the discharge of his responsibilities.' That is unambiguous. Similarly, the Joint Committee said that they meant that the Governor's emergency powers should be real powers, and that their exercise should be regarded as neither unusual nor arbitrary. These (unless I am mistaken) are the orders binding upon me, and I have obeyed them. As a practical instrument of government, many people may think diarchy is cumbrous and defective; as a device for carrying us through an anxious and confused period of conflict between divergent principles and aims, it may be regarded as highly ingenious and dialectically defensible. But for methods which, under the name of diarchy, really operate otherwise I personally have no inclination nor capacity. I can at all events understand a clear division of responsibility between different founts of power, however difficult I may find it to work. I cannot appreciate nor operate a system which really reposes entirely on one base or the other, while purporting to derive from both. Accordingly, while preserving the practice of consultation and discussion between both sides of the Government, I have stood for a clear-cut and not a blurred division of responsibilities and powers. I have never attempted to administer transferred subjects as if they were reserved; and, on the other hand, where responsibility is committed by law to the Governor in Council, I have tried to maintain it unimpaired. No doubt the Governor in Council might have disarmed criticism and made his own position much easier, if he had acceded to votes of the legislature in reserved matters, even when his own sense of what Parliament expected of him rejected the view which the legislature took. No doubt a Governor who never once used his individual or

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emergency powers would have won the praise of those in whose opinions he acquiesced. But such a Governor must have been much more fortunate than I have been, if he could have maintained such a record as that, and still felt that he had done his duty.

I think that a diarchic government must always expect to be shot at from both sides. There are plenty of people who think us feeble and weak-kneed, because we hold that the constitution does not justify the Governor in constantly interfering in transferred subjects. There are those who call us stiff-necked and reactionary, because we have defended the reserved sphere from encroachments and erosions which we believe that Parliament never intended. I do not, of course, suggest that these criticisms cancel out each other and leave us blameless—pacing unshakingly the perfect pathway of the golden mean. I confess that we have made errors of judgment and mistakes of proportion. But I do say that criticism which proceeds solely from one extreme point of view or solely from the other extreme must be expected to leave our withers comparatively unwrung, because we know, to our cost, as no one else outside the Government can know, that in all our doings we have simultaneously to take account of both.

But is it entirely just to describe this lustrum as a dismal and sterile interlude when nothing but tares have grown? when no sympathy with, or understanding of, Indian wishes has been shown? and when nothing has been done to call Indians into partnership or to advance along the lines of political or material or intellectual progress? If that is a true picture of the Government's performance, then I can only congratulate the people of these provinces on the way in which, in spite of a vicious conspiracy on my Government's part to hold things back, they—officials and non-officials together—have succeeded in eluding restraint, and have achieved what at all events wears a semblance of perceptible progress.

The last thing I seek to do is to take credit for matters outside the scope of Government. It is not our doing that the electorate has increased by eighteen per cent since the beginning of reforms, that polling has nearly doubled, that the sex disqualification has gone, that a non-official President has succeeded to an official

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President of Council, that the legislature has acquired five more years' experience of public business and parliamentary procedure, that growth has occurred in the formation of parties in Council, and that the country as a whole is taking more interest in public affairs. All these things are evidence of progress ; but I note them only in the same spirit as that with which I recall with gratitude our five good monsoons, our abundant harvests, increasing revenues, falling prices, and a decreased death-rate. On the other hand, I entirely deny that, within the limits imposed on us by the constitution, we have had nothing to contribute ourselves. What has been the most practical move made forward since the Reforms were introduced in 1920 ? I think there is no doubt that it was the placing of the future recruitment and control of the transferred services under Ministers. That set Ministers free to choose their own agents in future. It meant carrying the division of subjects to its logical outcome in a practical manner. There may be those who think it was a mistake. That is not the Indian view. But in any case it was the Governor in Council of the United Provinces, in 1923, who first proposed that this step should be taken. Another advance made in these provinces is that instead of two Ministers we now have three. We have called into existence various fresh standing committees ; we have enlarged the opportunities and assisted to enlarge the powers of district boards ; we have extended the elective principle in smaller bodies ; we have multiplied and strengthened the licensing boards, and increased the number of non-official chairmen. In another matter to which Indian opinion attaches importance we have not been unprogressive. During recent years more high appointments—whether in the Government itself or in the High Courts or among heads of departments or in the secretariat, or district charges or district judgeships or the police or medical charges of districts—have been filled by Indians than were ever so filled before. In this respect our record is as progressive as that of any province in India, and more advanced than that of many. Anyone who has taken the trouble to go into the figures knows that this is literally true.

Let us apply the test to purely administrative matters ; and first to the transferred departments. To say that we have

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stagnated in the matter of education would be an astounding libel on Rai Rajeshwar Bali. He has surprised me with the thought and labour which he has devoted to the subject. There is no region of the field that he has not tilled. He has carried a scheme for compulsory rural education and thought out plans for putting it in operation; he has had committees on university education, intermediate education, rural education, female education, and the education of the depressed classes. Teaching of the vernaculars and in the vernaculars has been encouraged; caste-prejudice in schools has to some extent been broken down; vocational training has been developed, the training of teachers improved, medical inspections undertaken, physical training promoted, hygiene and sanitation taught, and school libraries developed. By his creation of Agra University the Minister has set free both the affiliating university and the unitary teaching university to work out their separate destinies, and, as I think, to demonstrate that there is still room for both. All along the line there has been expansion; university students have nearly doubled in number; intermediate students have increased by sixty-eight per cent. The total of anglo-vernacular scholars has increased by one-third, and of vernacular middle scholars by two-thirds. Anyone who tours can see for himself how new buildings for high schools and hostels are springing up in different parts of the provinces. There are a quarter of a million more boys in primary schools, and 20,000 more girls at school than there were five years ago. I do not say, nor do I imply, that everything is well with our provincial education; but can anyone aver that an energetic and sustained effort has not been made to prepare the rising generation for its responsibilities? Expenditure on education as a whole has risen by forty lakhs a year; and in the case of primary education ninety per cent of the increase has been met from provincial funds. I doubt whether, if we had had more money, we could have spent it to full profit in every sphere of educational activity. Finally, my colleague, not content with pursuing the ordinary lines of development, has thought out and launched three new pioneer institutions dedicated to the improvement of Indian art, Indian music and Indian literature.

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In the matter of public health Rai Rajeshwar Bali may fairly claim that the present period of expansion and activity dates mainly from his time. He has provincialized the service; he has taken up and pushed on the experimental scheme of district health staffs, till nearly half the districts now have them; he has doubled the staff of sanitary inspectors, and built an institute for research and training. The Far Eastern Association of Tropical Medicine was much impressed by what we could show them. A great effort has been made to educate the villager in simple hygiene. A public health manual is nearly ready. No one claims complete or demonstrable success. The work is necessarily slow and uphill. But I will give you two figures of which the province may well be proud. In the last five years the cholera death-rate has been reduced to one-third; and in the same period the child mortality has fallen by thirty per cent. I am quite sure that the one result is largely due to the concentrated work of the district health staffs in cholera epidemics; and the other, in reasonable part at least, to the increased attention which is now paid to the care and welfare of mothers and children. For this last good cause our public health staff have done the propaganda, while the Medical department has put their precepts into practice.

Curative work in medicine has reached a much more advanced stage than preventive work; for which reason it cannot be required to show equally dramatic development. The Minister has reduced the excessive cost of dispensary buildings, and launched a new scheme of grants-in-aid. He has started a provincial pathological laboratory. He has investigated the possibilities of the indigenous medicine, in which a large section of Indian opinion puts faith, and subsidized colleges and schools for its teaching. He has encouraged young medical men to practise in rural areas. He has looked closely into matters of medical training and pushed on the campaign against tuberculosis. Some of these schemes are only in their infancy still. But you know how much time and money it takes to secure even the foundations of a big building.

I pass on to the departments controlled by Thakur Rajendra Singh. I wish I had time to tell you all that has

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been done for agriculture. But we have told the Royal Commission, and I think that they will be satisfied. Expenditure has risen by eighteen per cent. Three new circles have been made; three deputy directors added to the staff. Seed depots have doubled; their output has quadrupled. Private farms have more than doubled; demonstration areas have grown from almost nothing to half a million acres. Every year our soil is producing more and more valuable crops. Improved sugarcanes alone have sent up the value of the yearly crop to the cultivator by one hundred and five lakhs, or four times the cost of the entire department. A hopeful start has been made with vocational rural schools. Stud bulls have more than doubled in number, but they are still required, not in thousands but in hundreds of thousands. The two controlled breeding areas in Etawah and Muttra hold out promise of marked expansion. Well-boring and machine distribution have both shot ahead. We have spent seven and a half lakhs on laboratories and lecture rooms at Cawnpore. Veterinary inoculations have been trebled; laboratory examinations have increased ninefold. The expenditure on serum has increased fivefold. We have fought special campaigns against *surra* in Cawnpore and rinderpest in Garhwal. But, indeed, it must be common knowledge that our agricultural and veterinary staffs deserve gratitude.

Of provincial industries I have very recently spoken. I confess that we are still in the stage of experiment and have not turned the corner. But that there has been honest effort and obvious expansion is undeniable. In spite of the economies of the lean year 1923-24, expenditure has risen in these five years from nine and a half lakhs to thirteen lakhs, that is to say, by nearly fifty per cent. Apart from grants, loans, scholarships, bulletins and exhibitions—some of these things increased, others initiated for the first time—two Ministers, the Nawab Sahib of Chhitari and Thakur Rajendra Singh, have started three or four demonstration factories, and increased the number of technical schools from twenty-eight to one hundred and eight—the biggest total of any province in India. Chaudhri Wajid Husain has encountered many difficulties, but has always pressed on with energy and a stout heart.

Co-operative credit is another cause which has yet to win

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through. Here, beyond saying that we have doubled our expenditure, I will not give you figures, because, though they make an attractive show, they are not always the best test of the real growth of the co-operative spirit. My colleague, the Nawab Sahib of Chhitari, caused a searching and thoughtful inquiry to be made into the working of the department, with, I believe, very promising results. My present Minister has taken action on the Committee's report and has re-organized the department and increased the staff. There is still some dead tissue to be cut away ; still much to be done in instilling true ideas about co-operation into men's minds. But, after reading the new Registrar's last report, I am sure that Mr. Kharegat is doing all that he possibly can to inspire his men with fresh energy and co-operative effort with new life.

No department illustrates the manner in which the administration has conformed to Indian wishes more markedly than excise. My Ministers have continued and developed the policy initiated by the first Minister who held charge of this subject. In pursuit of our intention to promote temperance by all legitimate means, we have discouraged the total amount of sale by various devices, liberalized the composition of licensing boards, struck at opium dens, curtailed the hours of sale, and reduced the strength of country spirit. This means that hundreds of shops have been closed ; and that, at all events so far as legitimate operations go, our people are soberer than they were five years ago to the extent of one hundred thousand gallons of country spirit and six and a half tons of opium every year, to say nothing of *charas* and *bhang*. It would be rash to assume that these figures measure the net gain to temperance. I think it likely that illicit production and sale may prove a matter of some embarrassment to a future Government. And what is, of course, a very serious matter for the administration, our efforts to meet the popular demand for restriction have sent our revenue down by fifty-four lakhs a year, compared with the figures of six years ago.

There is one very important field of administration for which, under existing Acts, the Government are only indirectly responsible. The actual control of municipal and district boards' affairs is not directly committed to the Minister's hands. The

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task of my colleague, Nawab Muhammad Yusuf, is that of shaping policy generally, of providing grants, of watching progress, and, in the last resort, of correcting grave abuses. I challenge any man to say that these powers have been used restrictively or even illiberally. On the contrary, by increasing grants, by extending the pilgrim tax to various places, by encouraging conferences, by watching relations with commissioners and district officers, by lending officers for special inquiries, by the appointment of more non-official chairmen, by facilitating minor amendments of the law, and by offering to take over some burdens which promise to overload the boards, the Government have consistently endeavoured to lead the boards forward. Moreover, in accordance with the recommendations of a Public Works Committee appointed by my predecessor's Government, we made over 4,000 miles of roads to the boards, not without misgivings which experience has since justified. We have gladly helped the execution of water-works, drainage and lighting schemes in several large cities. If we have taken action against individual boards or members, it has only been after long forbearance and repeated admonition. We may have laid ourselves open even to the criticism of being too long-suffering. No one can view the financial position of many of the boards without grave misgiving. But let no man say that we have attempted to enforce our own ideas narrowly or rigidly upon the boards, or have been false to the accepted principle that local bodies should be encouraged to manage their own affairs. And since this is the last opportunity which I shall have of doing so, I warn those local bodies which are conspicuous in doing badly that they will be doing their country a grave disservice if they do not hasten to put their house in order; and I desire to acknowledge especially the public spirit and good work of the district boards of Aligarh, Agra, Etawah, Cawnpore, Basti and Gonda, and the municipal boards of Cawnpore, Saharanpur, Aligarh, Gorakhpur and Almora, as well as of the improvement trusts of Allahabad, Cawnpore and Lucknow, which, though hampered by lack of funds, have pushed on steadily with their beneficial work.

The Public Works department have had the very depressing

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experience of suffering re-organization. They have lost a third of their engineers and over a third of their total strength. Establishment charges have come down by over eight and a half lakhs, and yet in this last year they did work of twenty-one lakhs more value than four years ago. This satisfies me that they have put forth a good effort. For two services in particular the province owes them thanks : the energy with which they restored the damage to communications in the floods of 1924 ; and the skill with which they are handling the five years' programme of road construction. I feel no doubt that we were wise to take a loan for this important work. Conditions of traffic have so greatly changed that it was high time to improve our road foundations and to give them a better wearing surface. The times have not been propitious for adventurous schemes, and one of my keen regrets at leaving will be that we could not complete our arterial road system, and construct some sorely-needed road bridges over the great rivers. The Public Health Engineering branch has been conspicuously active. I cannot speak of all their doings, and will select one of them. Six new towns have gained electric light, and many more schemes are either ready or being completed. This means a notable addition to the comfort of lakhs of people, and I hope also some help to many smaller industries.

Of the reserved subjects my intention was to speak more briefly, simply because the Governor in Council is responsible for them, and a defence of them may be misrepresented in a way that praise of the transferred subjects can hardly be misconstrued. But I must not be concise to the point of doing them injustice.

To the police of these provinces the people ought to feel hearty gratitude. They also have felt the heavy hand of the economist ; the chaukidars have been reduced by one-half, and the total strength of the regular police by about 2,300. But they have not been downhearted. In the past five years they have brought down the volume of violent crime, which had risen during the War and in the aftermath of the War to heights unheard of, by over one-half. Think what that means in terms of suffering and misery averted. It has not been done without some steady thinking, unremitting effort, close co-operation, and

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a hearty resolve to succeed. I thank the police for having done it. The police have also dealt successfully with a difficult and dangerous revolutionary conspiracy in a manner that earned the warm praises of the courts. All through the force there has been progress and vitality. Lines, schools, the Police Training School, physical efficiency, traffic instruction, detective methods—all have been thoroughly developed. We are getting better educated men as sub-inspectors and head constables. There are 1,000 more literate constables than there were. Resignations are few ; desertions have stopped. I am very glad that we have done something effective to improve police buildings, the condition of which has been a scandal for many years. I say, without fear of contradiction, that Mr. Dodd has under his orders at this moment a better organized, more upright, more intelligent, and more efficient police force than these provinces have known in all their history. I do not allege that they are immaculate ; but by no means all the accusations made against them are true. I know that supervision is vigilant, and that neither the Inspector-General nor the Home Member would dream of shielding offenders from any notion of prestige.

The Irrigation department has a monumental achievement to its credit. During these five years it has carried nearly to completion the big project initiated in Sir Harcourt Butler's time ; a bigger irrigation project than any that our predecessors constructed—indeed, with its five and a half thousand miles of channels and drains, the longest canal system in the world. The Sarda Canal will run with water this year, and is expected to yield a substantial revenue ere long. It will have cost us nine and a half crores, no light burden upon our finances, but the effort will be abundantly repaid hereafter. This immense enterprise throws minor constructive works into the shade. On the open canals, however, much has been done to improve the condition of the distribution channels, and also to prepare schemes of hydro-electric power for towns. I also wish to recall gratefully the services of those officers of the department who saved the people and the province from ruinous loss by the skill and unremitting labour with which they repaired the calamitous damage done by the floods of 1924. The Government also tried to meet the popular wish to see the fixing of

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irrigation rates placed on a statutory basis ; and proposed to vary the rates according to crop prices. But the Legislative Council showed that it wanted any change whatever in the rates to be made a matter of specific legislation. We could not agree to such extreme rigidity as that. But our own proposals were endorsed by the Indian Taxation Committee.

The Forest department reached their apex of revenue production a year or two ago when they gave us thirty-two lakhs ; but they are still two lakhs above what has recently been estimated to be their normal yield of twenty-three lakhs. They have cut themselves off from the unprofitable enterprises of a previous period. They have alleviated the grievances of the Kumaun villager. They have built three remunerative tramways, and have all but completed their programme of revision of working plans, which is important because it means that they will be able to devote much more attention to research. *Sal* is our great asset, and it is vital to make the most of it. Our forest officers are planting 2,000 new acres a year with forest trees in the *ravine lands alone ; they are passing and supplying four lakhs of sleepers to the railways, and they hope shortly to be making some fresh money out of this.*

In the Jails department we have had a complete and thoughtful overhauling of our prisons on the lines laid down by the Indian Jail Committee. It would be quite impossible to recite the long list of humanitarian and other changes effected on points of detail under the orders of both the former Home Member, the Maharaja of Mahmudabad, and the present Home Member, the Nawab of Chhitari. But they are numerous and important enough to constitute a convincing reply to the charge of reaction or of indifference to Indian opinion. My colleagues have extended the scope of the revision boards, liberalized remissions, and mitigated avoidable severities. Charges have been brought down by a quarter. In spite of our having raised the warders' pay, which certainly needed raising, each of our 30,000 prisoners now costs us eight rupees a month to feed, clothe and guard. I call that a very low figure. Jail industries also are being profitably developed ; and I am very glad to add that the rate of mortality has been reduced from 14·5 a thousand to the conspicuously low

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figure of 11·5 a thousand. I affirm that these results do Colonel Clements and his officers great credit.

On the judicial side we have played our due part in the inquiries conducted by the Civil Justice Committee and the Indian Bar Committee. I regret that the former has not borne more fruit. I should have liked to see divisional appellate benches established. We have found money for the additional judges needed to give the High Court relief, and have strengthened the provincial judiciary in the Agra Province. We have created a Chief Court of Oudh, and secured a far speedier and cheaper means of deciding taluqdari suits. We have brought Kumaun under the jurisdiction of the High Court. We have extended the jury system to three more districts. We have increased the jurisdiction of munsifs. I am concerned to see that the figures for suits have risen by as much as twenty per cent, though that probably points to prosperous conditions, and to some minds may seem on other grounds a sign of progress. I wish to thank Sir Grimwood Mears and Sir Louis Stuart, and the Judges of both courts, for the manner in which they have maintained the high standards of their predecessors, and also friendly relations with the executive. I thank Sir Grimwood also for the public service which he rendered by *presiding over the Provincial Flood Relief Committee of 1924*, and for his effectual dealing with some corrupt officers.

I come to another department, which is a very faithful servant of the public, even if it is not a popular idol. Our Finance department has shown itself a vigilant guardian of the pecuniary interests of the province. It has also given a lead to all the provinces in India with its successful separation of audit and accounts. This has been a strenuous piece of work ; and the thanks of Government are due to Mr. Blunt, who has borne the main burden of it. Another progressive measure which the department has launched successfully is the amalgamation of treasuries, which promises both to be economical and to lead to a better disposition of our balances.

The laborious and practical work of the Revenue department is too diffused to admit of brief generalization. But I select, for the purpose of refuting the charge of ossification, the facts that

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we have abolished ten tahsils and eighteen hundred patwaris ; we have simplified patwari records, granted widespread relief after the floods, clarified the system of taqavi accounts, launched beneficial developments in Government estates, especially in the Tarai and Bhabar, and initiated a new programme of settlement. We have fixed rent rates in three Oudh districts, and begun the work in seven Agra districts. In particular I wish to praise the very valuable work done by Mr. Grant, the Chief Inspector of Offices, who has been the means of saving us lakhs of money. All these matters are worth a word. But they are overshadowed by two more momentous changes: our affirmation of a change of settlement policy, which is now definitely directed to lighter revenue assessments; and our legislation of 1926, which gave statutory rights and security to an enormous number of tenants-at-will in the Agra Province. Possibly these two measures may do a little to refute the allegations of inertia and imperviousness to Indian wishes. But whether this is so or not, I am happy that they were carried out in my time. We should have been perfectly willing also to embody in the law the main concessions made in respect of settlement policy: the extension of the period of settlement, the limitation of the proportion of assets taken as revenue, and the restriction of the enhancement on any one *mahal*. But landlord opinion was divided about the Bill, and we decided to let the question stand over.

I come to the officers of my own service, who are engaged in work of general administration as well as revenue. Some people imagine that 'general administration' is an empty phrase, designed to bolster up the prestige of the head of the district. Anyone who thinks that might learn better if he found himself in general charge of the welfare of a million people, and realized how insistent are the calls made upon a district officer for help and advice from every side. I thank the Commissioners and district officers and the Provincial Civil Service for the way in which they have adjusted themselves to new and difficult conditions; the restraint with which they have encountered criticism, the patient and good feeling with which they have handled the communal troubles, and their loyal co-operation with the reformed Government. I congratulate them on having, as I believe, firmly re-established good

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relations with their people. Many of you will remember the troubles of 1921-22. Their aftermath was discernible even in December, 1922, in the shape of a certain sourness of feeling. It has, so far as I can see, entirely and utterly disappeared. I have toured much and I have seen many officers in camp, and I have rarely found a district officer, who had been any time in his district, and who had not attained a thorough knowledge of it, and was not liked, trusted, and esteemed by the people in general. If I am not grossly deluded, the relations between the Government and all but a small section of the people are friendly. That is one of the happiest reflections which I shall carry away with me.

Now I have to speak of some things which are less satisfactory. You all know what is the most disquieting feature of the days we live in. We have been blessed with good monsoons and prosperous harvests. With the single exception of the 1924 floods, which cost us a million pounds in three days, we have escaped calamity. The relations between landlord and tenant are happier than they were. The feeling throughout the province is good in all respects but one. There has descended on the province, in common with other portions of India, the blight of communal dissension. I will not call it religious hatred, because I think that genuine religious feeling is not the largest element in it. The mainsprings are other than religious ; religion provides the opportunity and the war-cries. I do not think that I shall do any good by analyzing causes, or suggesting palliatives. I will merely repeat that as a Government we hold no brief for either side, and that we deplore as much as anyone the existence of a mischief that is so destructive, so wasteful, and so poisonous to the national life. We have set our face as a Government against any attempt to define civil rights by executive order, and we have clung to the principle that no one must so exercise his own rights as to prevent another from the enjoyment of equal liberty. Our officers have interfered only in order to maintain the peace. Restrictions such as we have from time to time imposed are no new things in the annals of the province ; and, as in the days before me, so in my time also, they have been applied impartially and on precisely the same principle to the ceremonies of both the great communities. We have not put our trust in the institution

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of formal conciliation committees; but we have bidden our officers to lose no chance of enlisting the help of prominent people to compose quarrels whenever there is really a will to peace. My Members of Council and my Ministers have also missed no opportunity of endeavouring to bring about appeasement. In particular, I wish to thank Mr. Gwynne, Mr. Crosthwaite, Kunwar Maharaj Singh, Mr. Thompson, and Mr. Collett for the patience with which they laboured to effect conciliation. There have been no less than eighty-nine communal riots in my time. They caused death to eighty-one people and injury to 2,300. I am thankful to say that they were ended with the very minimum of force. The troops gave us valuable help on several occasions, but never had to fire a round. The police used firearms on six occasions, and by their firing thirteen deaths were caused.

To speak candidly, I have no expectation that anything which I may say will prove effective when weightier and more eloquent words than mine have gone unheard. But no man standing in my position, who feels about this matter as I do, can refrain from making one last attempt. I have friends among Hindus and friends among Muslims. I appeal to them both publicly, as I have often appealed to them privately, to think in terms of India; to realize that self-dominion is a far-off dream so long as men cannot live together peaceably as citizens; to believe that every man who writes an inflammatory article or makes a fiery speech offends as much as he who gathers a crowd to attack people of another religion. In a country where ignorance and misunderstanding is so common, he who speaks and writes should put the greatest restraint upon his words. But it is not merely nor mainly a matter of caution and restraint. What is wanted is the will to peace; a desire for agreement stronger than the desire to have one's own way. Perhaps it is the hardest lesson of all to learn, but let no man make the mistake of thinking that it is not an essential precedent to the growth of nationhood.

I cannot omit a mention of what is to me, personally, a matter of keen disappointment. We have made no progress with the idea of evolving local machinery and enlisting local effort for the general development and enrichment of village life in the provinces. The replies to our inquiries upon these points were discouraging.

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Few people believed that anything could be done apart from what the departments and the district boards are doing. I do not myself accept that conclusion. I still think that there is an immense amount of propagandist and pioneer work to be done. I still think that there is room for the voluntary worker and for voluntary organization ; but, in the absence of sufficient support, we have not found it possible to strike out on a new line, and, if the idea of voluntary district associations or agencies aiming at the general benefit of the people is a sound idea—as I believe it to be—it must now come to fruition in other hands than those of my Government.

Now, although there are many other matters on which I might speak to you, I come to the words of farewell which have to be spoken. I am grateful, in the first place, to the people of these provinces, who in my time have been friendly, well-disposed, and not embittered towards Government and its officers—and who have expressed their appreciation when we have, as at times I think we have, been able really to help them. I thank the great public services, all the heads of departments without exception, all the secretaries to Government and the members of that hard-worked body, the secretariat, staff and clerks, for faithful, thoughtful and loyal help. Though my Government have not always seen eye to eye with the legislature, I acknowledge cordially the assistance which the Councils have given us in passing five budgets, in imposing temporary taxation, in carrying several important and difficult Bills, and in keeping us informed about public opinion. I am indebted to all the three ruling Princes, and especially to my old and tried friends, the Nawab of Rampur and the Maharaja of Benares, for unfailing official help and co-operation. I am most grateful to General Sir George Barrow and General Sir George Franks for the help which they have given us, and to the soldiers who have willingly responded to any call upon them. To my colleagues in the Government my warmest thanks are due. My three Ministers have played the difficult part assigned to them in the constitution in an admirable manner.

They have found out how to combine loyalty to the legislature with such measure of co-operation and forbearance as is essential if diarchic Government is to endure for a week. I hope, and

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I believe, that they recognize that the Governor in Council has endeavoured to show them equal consideration. To the Nawab Sahib of Chhitari I owe more than I can easily say. He is wise and generous, and he thinks no evil. Of my indebtedness to Sir Sam O'Donnell I know that he would not wish me to speak at length. When we took office we had been friends for over twenty-seven years, and five years under fire together has only cemented our friendship. To Sir Sam O'Donnell more than to anyone the province is indebted for the Agra Tenancy Act. He shaped the scheme originally; he watched over it and nursed it at all its stages; and it is due mainly to his patience and skill that the Bill came safely through the Council. The Bill was the biggest piece of constructive legislation in these provinces for a generation; and on that ground alone its author's name will, I believe, be gratefully remembered here for many years to come.

Gentlemen, I have nearly finished—in more senses than one. I am very proud to have been Governor of my own provinces, which I think is the finest position open to the services in India. I am very sorry to lay office down, to have done with many absorbing problems, to take my hand off many worthy causes which I have much at heart, and to part from many good friends. I wish the old friend who succeeds me in office nothing better than a like measure of good-will to that which I have received so generously, and in the matter of monsoon's the same good fortune. For the latter we must trust to his *iqbal*; but the former I am confident that you will give him. I am sure that the provinces will be happy with him and he with the provinces. And so, good-bye!

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